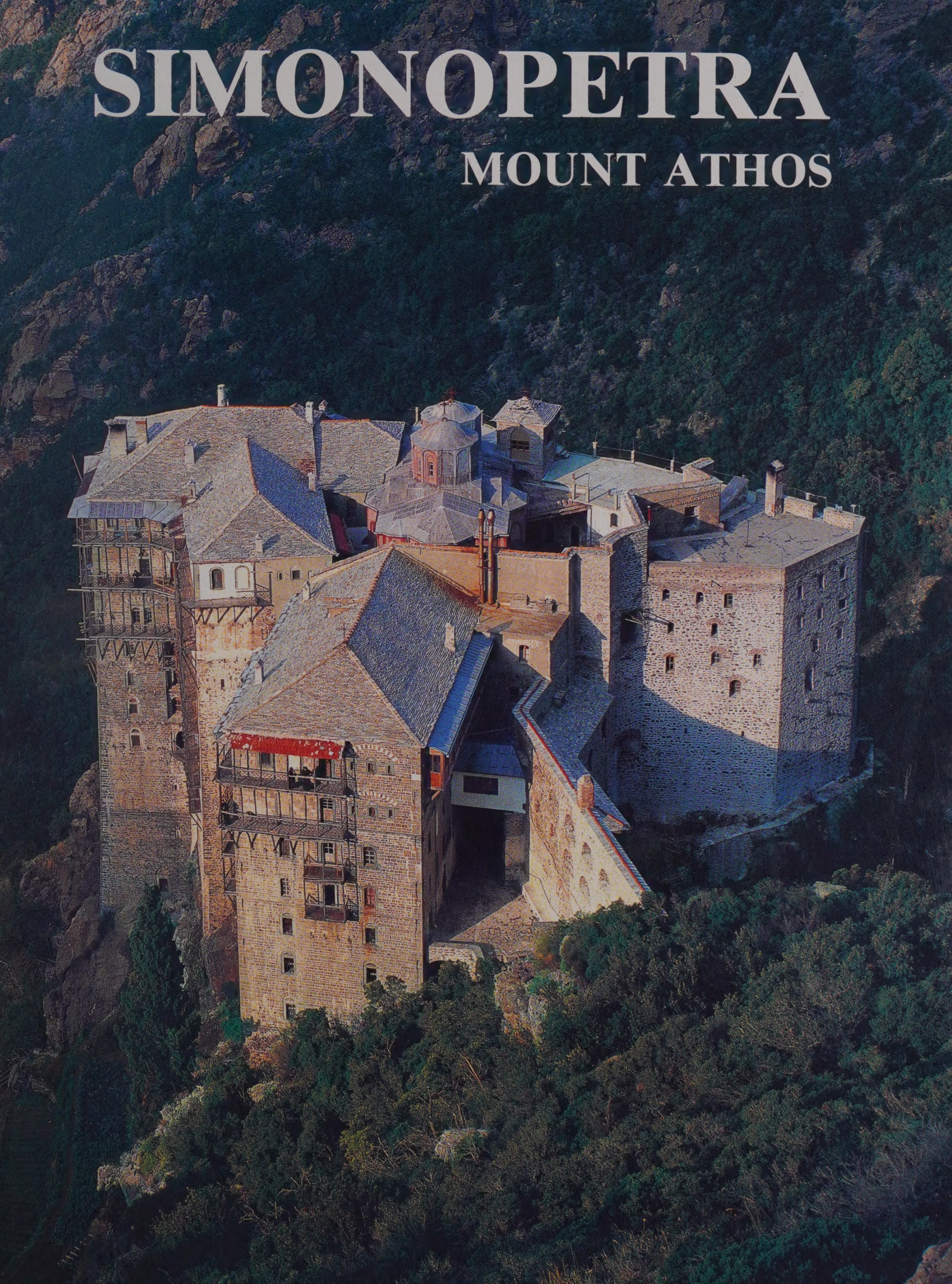
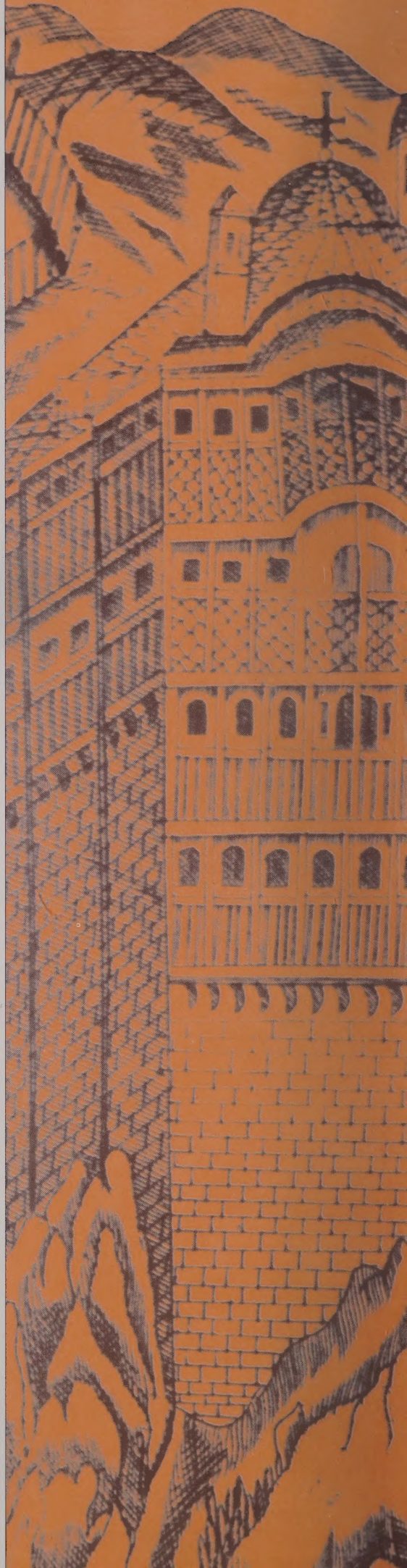
SIMONOPETRA

MOUNT ATHOS





ΟΙ ΚΑΜΑΡΕΣ ΤΥΛΕΡΣ
ΤΟ ΧΑΛΚΙΑΔΕΙΟ

SIMONOPETRA

MOUNT ATHOS

ATHENS 1991

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SIMONOPETRA

MOUNT ATHOS

ETBA

HELLENIC INDUSTRIAL
DEVELOPMENT BANK SA

EDITOR: STELIOS PAPADOPOULOS
PHOTOGRAPHY: ANDREAS SMARAGDIS

AUTHORS

ARCHIMANDRITE AIMILIANOS SIMONOPETRITIS
Theologian

Prof. VASSILIS DIMITRIADIS
University of Crete

PLOUTARCHOS THEOCHARIDIS
Architect

MARIA THEOCHARIS
Byzantinologist

PRIEST-MONK IOUSTINOS SIMONOPETRITIS
Theologian

Dr IANNIS KARAS
Historian

SOTIRIS KISSAS
Archaeologist

Prof. DIMITRIOS KOTOULAS
University of Thessaloniki

Prof. ATHANASIOS MARKOPOULOS
University of Crete

Dr DIMITRIS NASTASE
Historian

DEACON-MONK NILOS SIMONOPETRITIS
Theologian

STEPHANOS NOMIKOS
Architect

YOTA IKONOMAKI-PAPADOPOULOS
Art historian

Prof. NIKOS OIKONOMIDES
University of Athens

IOAKIM PAPAGGELOS
Byzantinologist

Dr STELIOS PAPADOPOULOS
Ethnologist

Prof. CHRISTOS PATRINELIS
University of Thessaloniki

Prof. GREGORIOS STATHIS
University of Athens

Prof. IOANNIS TARNANIDIS
University of Thessaloniki

Prof. ANTHONY-EMIL N. TACHIAOS
University of Thessaloniki

Dr FANI-MARIA TSIGAKOU
Art historian

Prof. IOANNIS FOUNTOULIS
University of Thessaloniki

KRITON CHRYSSOCHOÏDIS
Historian

ART EDITING: TAKIS KATSOULIDIS

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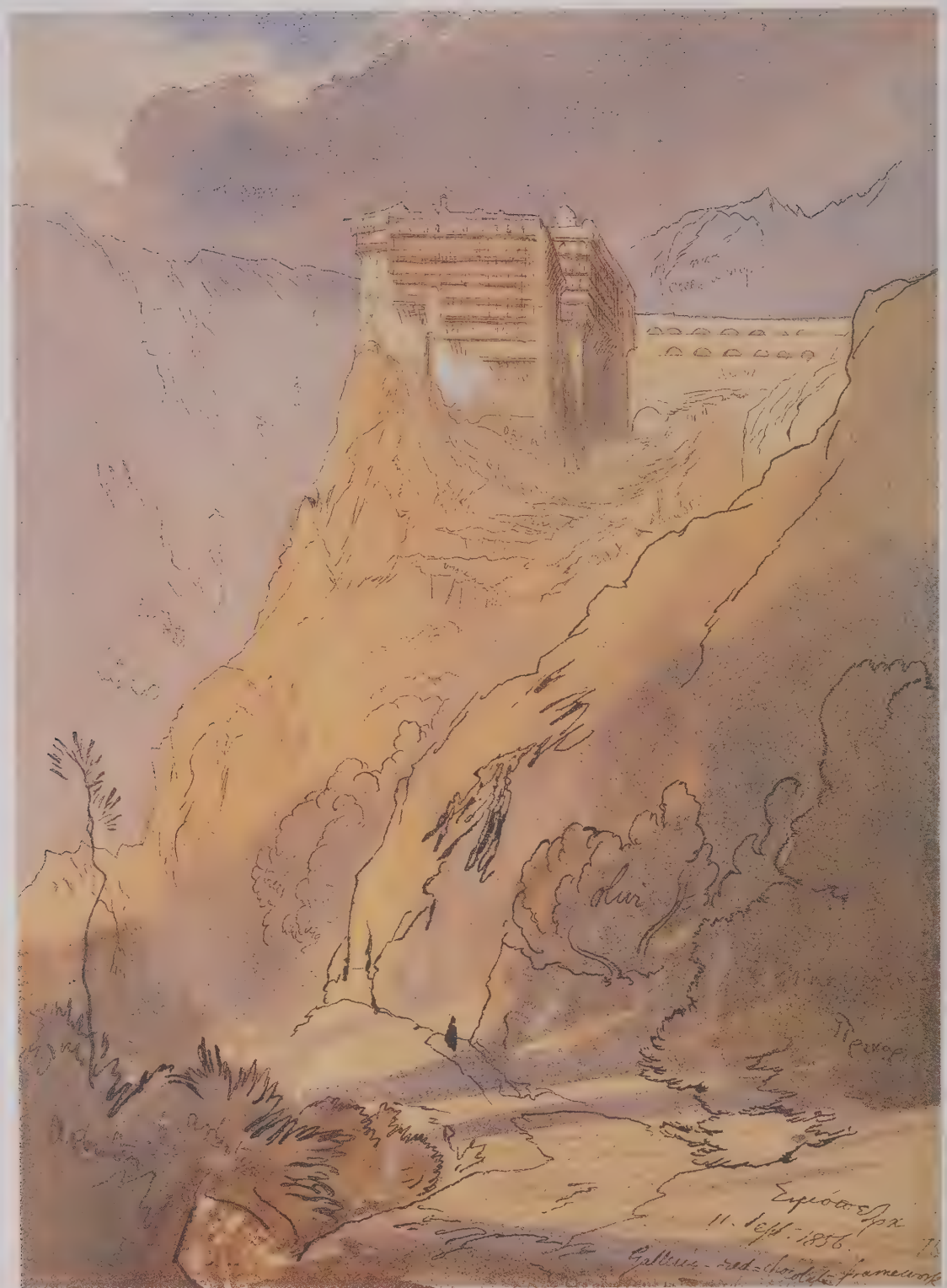


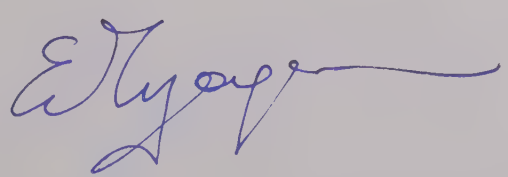
Fig. 1 The Monastery of Simonopetra. Watercolour. Edward Lear. 1856 (Tate Gallery, London) (p. 252).

Prologue

The Holy Mountain of Athos is one of the foremost cultural treasures of the Greek nation, Orthodoxy and the Christian world more broadly. The radiance of its many centuries of influence, the wealth of its works of technical, artistic, intellectual and spiritual creativity, its unique natural landscape and its vigorous monastic and theological tradition: these are the elements which make up its international significance. With its intellectual and spiritual presence and with the care it takes, in collaboration with Greek academics of a wide range of disciplines, to preserve and make known its heritage, the Brotherhood of the Holy Monastery of Simonopetra has contributed to that significance.

This volume is proof of the wider interest of the Hellenic Industrial Development Bank in Greek culture —in researching and studying it, in making full use of it in structuring the national identity and the international image of Greece. This book is a sample of the best that Greek publishing can offer; the purpose of its publication is to describe and also to support the Monastery and it opens up the way for active relations of sponsorship between large financial organisations and the repository where our culture's heritage lies stored.

In these difficult times, Mt Athos is an invaluable treasure of which too little use has as yet been made. In publishing 'Simonopetra', we seek to provide an indication of the hitherto unimagined potential of the Holy Mountain.



EFTIHIA PYLARINOU-PIPERGIA
Governor
Hellenic Industrial Development Bank

Athos, visible on all sides, stands silent. But the silence, the achievements and the obvious sanctity of the towering Mountain manifestly cry out and bear their witness as runners handing on the torch of light and life. In the 'Garden of the Mother of God' there is no need for braying trumpets: it is a spirit and an ethos which guides the Mountain and permeates to the world.

This place, termed 'Holy', derives its life from the invisible, ever-present God and is preserved by the concentrated divinising experience of the ages at every level of the arena of asceticism and the life of the Church, of tradition, of culture, of letters, of the arts. It has influenced, down the centuries, and still influences the social life of the peoples of the Mediterranean and beyond. Investigation of and acquaintance with the factors which make up this experience and making them known to the Greek of today, and in general to modern thinking man, serve as a dynamic axis and an illuminating pointer in re-establishing their links with these spiritual treasures which have been food and drink to so many peoples through the ages.

This has been appreciated by the Board of Directors of the Hellenic Industrial Development Bank, and with a discerning sensitivity towards our cultural heritage, it has decided upon the publication of this volume to mark the 600 years of uninterrupted life, activity, culture and history —in spite of the repeated waves of difficulties and misfortunes which have broken upon it— of the Holy Monastery of Simonopetra. The Bank, within the context of development perspective, has, by this gesture, demonstrated that it is aware of the essence and the value of our spiritual assets. This book is not only an offering to the Monastery and to the Holy Mountain; it is also a contribution to the development and progress of our country and a continuation of interest in and research into the well-known and unknown historic treasures of the monasteries of Athos.

The publication of the volume Simonopetra coincides with an upsurge in numbers of those following the monastic life —especially on the Holy Mountain— and with the rapidly developing researches of specialists who are discovering these buried treasures and are engaged in a zealous study of Byzantine and post-Byzantine culture and traditional values. It also coincides with what has been for some time now a relatively significant output in terms of publications by Greek scholarship.

We are grateful to the Governor of the Hellenic Industrial Development Bank, Ms Eftihia Pylarinou-Pipergia, to the Bank's Board of Directors, to the former Governors Messrs Kostas Sofoulis, Michalis Sallas, Nikolaos Zografos and Konstantinos Drakatos, to the assiduous Director of the Bank's Cultural Foundation, Dr Stelios Papadopoulos, the specialist contributors to this volume and all those, known to us and unknown, and those behind the scenes who have laboured to compile this book, which we have accepted as a gift. We, today's dwellers in this soaring Monastery, which owes as a debt above all things to make hearts more perfervid than fire with its life, its silence and its recollection, its work and the due which we must render, give these our thanks, as our offering, duly owed, in return.

Written one hundred years to the day since the total destruction of the Monastery by fire on 28 May 1891.

Archimandrite AIMILIANOS
Abbot of the Holy Monastery of Simonopetra

Fig. 2 Simonopetra. Copper engraving. 1836. Karyes, Mt Athos (370 x 275) (The British Library, London) (pp. 75, 245).

HISTORY

The Holy Mountain

N. Oikonomides

From a wilderness of hermits to Byzantine Holy Mountain

The expression 'holy mountain' was used in the Middle Ages to describe areas in the hills where sizeable monastic communities had settled: these included Mt Olympus in Bithynia and Mt Latros in the vicinity of Miletus. In the case of Mt Athos, the phrase is recorded for the first time in an original document dating from the year 985 (Iviron 7$_{54-55}$). Slightly later, the same expression was used in the title of local officials, such as the 'Protos and the Steward of the holy mountain' (996, 1007, Laura 12$_{24}$, Iviron 14$_{52}$). In 1045, it appears in a document issued by the Emperor himself (Protaton 8$_{31}$). Naturally enough, the establishment of such a nomenclature increased the prestige of the Athonite monastic community.

The new name set the seal on what was already quite a considerable piece of history. The promontory of Athos was laid waste in late antiquity and seems to have been completely unpopulated. The first hermits settled there around the year 800: no earlier, despite the local traditions which take the founding of certain monasteries as far back as the 4th century. The anchoritic community on Athos appears to have grown quite rapidly, and in 843 it sent a delegation to Constantinople to take part in the celebrations for the restoration of the icons. In the 9th century, the first Athonite saints make their appearance, including the hermit St Peter and St Euthymius the Younger, who moved to Athos in 859 from Mt Olympus in Bithynia, where he had previously led the ascetic life.

However, it was only natural that most of the hermits of Mt Athos should be from the vicinity of the mountain itself: Halkidiki and the Thessaloniki and Kavala areas. Such men turned to the wilderness in search of quietude and a place where they could subjugate the flesh by leading the strict ascetic life, waging the anchorite's unceasing war against the Evil One. As the number of anchorites grew, the first organised forms of monastic life appeared, with Athonite monks founding monasteries outside the area of the mountain, in populated places.

On the Athos promontory itself, there were principally hermitages with anchorites living by themselves or in small groups. Anchoritic monasticism was undoubtedly predominant and the monks of Athos were fanatical advocates of it: in the *Life* of St Peter of Athos, who lived in the 9th century, all arguments in favour of the coenobitic life are portrayed as the work of the Devil himself.

Although the organised monastic communities were exiled to neighbouring Halkidiki, they nonetheless maintained close relations with Athos. In 857, the first imperial privileges were granted by Basil I jointly to the Athonites and the Kolovos coenobium at Ierissos; the purpose of the privileges was to protect the monks against tax-collectors, which indicates that both the anchorites and the coenobites had begun to amass assets which were worthy of note —and of the attention of the tax authorities. In 941-942, the Emperor Romanus I Lecepenus was the first ruler to introduce an annual grant for the monks of Athos: one gold coin per annum for each of them. In this way, the anchorites of Athos and of the other important hermitages

which received the grant at this time (those of Bithynian Olympus, of Cyminas and of Latros) entered the service of the state and offered up their prayers for the Emperor and the Empire, particularly when a campaign against the unbelievers was being mounted. By the mid 10th century, Athos was already beyond doubt one of the most famous monastic centres in the Empire and the principal local institutions which were to leave their mark on its many centuries of subsequent history had already been developed: the Protos, the monastic community's governor and representative in dealings with the outside world, who is first mentioned in 908, the staff of the Protaton, the internal regulations and the three meetings which the community held each year (at Christmas, at Easter and on 15 August), with the participation of all, to take decisions on matters of common concern. It was at this time that the first small monasteries with names appear: Xeropotamou and Klimentos (which later came into the possession of Georgian monks). However, it was not until the founding of Megiste Laura that the great qualitative change occurred.

Athanasius, founder of Megiste Laura, was from Trebizond. Most probably in 957, he abandoned a successful teaching career in Constantinople and settled on Mt Athos as a hermit. However, three years later he was called to the aid of his friend Nicephorus Phocas, who was laying siege to the Arab-held town of Handax (modern Herakleio in Crete). The plunder which Phocas seized at the looting of Handax when it fell in 961 enabled him to send money to Athanasius for the founding of a new 'laura' -that is, to begin with at least, a small coenobium like those which already existed. However, when Nicephorus Phocas became Emperor things changed. In 964, the 'laura' became an imperial monastery with accommodation for 80 monks, and it was endowed with generous annual grants in money and foodstuffs, with tax-free lands in Halkidiki and even with three holy relics whose authenticity was guaranteed by the capital. Megiste ('the greatest') Laura, as this new, large and wealthy coenobium came to be called, was a foundation of a very different kind from those which had existed on Athos up to that time. At first, the monastery set up by the Emperor and Athanasius outraged the advocates of tradition. The anchorites were unable to tolerate the idea that the absolute peace of their mountain was being shattered by the huge building-site of Laura —which even owned its own boat. They protested, with St Paul of Xeropotamou at their head, but in vain. When Phocas was assassinated, the traditionalists made approaches to his successor and rival, John Tzimisces, but once more without effect. In 972, it was this Emperor who issued the 1st Typikon (known as *'Tragos'*, 'the Goatskin'), which acknowledged the special needs of Laura and set up the legislation for the first system for co-existence between the two conflicting trends in monasticism: the traditional hermits and anchorites, to whom Athos owed the fame it had by then acquired, and the newly-arrived coenobites, who showed the way forward to the future.

A few years later, a second large coenobium was founded on Mt Athos, once again by imperial gift: the Iveron Monastery. Around 963, a group of aristocratic 'Iberians' (Georgians) sought the quietude of the monastic life in Athanasius's Laura. In 978 one of them, Ioannis Tornikios, was called to Constantinople to help deal with the revolt of Bardas Sclerus, who had already conquered the whole of Asia Minor. Tornikios enlisted a force of Georgians and managed to stamp out the revolt. Then he returned to Athos laden with the booty he had seized from Sclerus and equipped with privileges of all kinds, grants and the titles to land in Halkidiki which the grateful Emperor Basil II had bestowed on him to enable him to set up Iveron Monastery. Once more the mountain was turned into a building site and another boat took to the seas; as a result, there was a fresh outbreak of envy and complaints from the Athonite traditionalists—once again without any real effect. Iveron Monastery, the second large coenobium on Mt Athos, survived and flourished.

Around the year 1000 Mt Athos had more than 41 monasteries: most of these were small, but there were also some larger ones. When Constantine IX Monomachus issued the 2nd Typikon of the Holy Mountain in 1045, Megiste Laura had seven hundred monks, and another equally populous monastery —Vatopedi— was also in operation.

By this time, Mt Athos was a large and economically powerful community of great prestige and influence in Constantinople, whose renown had spread throughout the Empire. The proud name 'the Holy Mountain' made its appearance and entered currency at this period, and has survived down to the present.

The very rapid growth of the Athonite community was, of course, due in very considerable measure to the succession of imperial gifts, but its causes also lay in objective factors and historical circumstances which favoured Athos over the other and older 'holy mountains' which had flourished during the 10th century.

a) Safety. The rise of Athos coincided with the elimination in 961 of the threat posed by the Arab occupation of Crete. Thus it became possible to found monasteries on coastal sites without any risk of corsair attack. Furthermore, the other 'holy mountains' of the 10th century were in Asia Minor: after the defeat of the Byzantine forces at Manzikert in 1071, these were overrun by the Turks and abandoned for a while. In the late 11th century, Turkish emirs were able to establish themselves briefly even in Smyrna and Nicaea. By way of contrast, Mt Athos was completely safe at this time and was to remain so for two further centuries, given that all the adjacent populations were Christians and, consequently, were imbued with respect for the monastic community.

b) Communications - international character. The restoration of safety at sea after the re-capture of Crete and the general flourishing of marine communications —which altered life in the Mediterranean at this time— benefited the economic development of the monasteries of Mt Athos and their contacts with the outside world. The other 'holy mountains', on the other hand, were all far from the sea.

Mt Athos attracted monks from all across the Empire at a very early date. Apart from the 'Iberians' of Georgia, there are references in the 10th century to monastic communities of Italians from Amalfi, of 'the Chaldaean' (from eastern Pontus, birthplace of Athanasius of Laura), of 'the Paphlagonian' and of 'the Sicilian'. In 1016, we have the first mention of a monastery 'of the Russian'. When the conquests of Basil II (+1025) took the frontiers of the Empire up to the Danube, Athos, as the first monastic community of importance on European soil, acquired a huge hinterland of Orthodox populations. The Orthodox faithful of Europe formed bonds with Athos and set up their own monasteries there. The first of these was the separate Russian monastery (before 1142), after which Chilandari was ceded to the Serbs (1198) and still later Zographou was granted to the Bulgarians.

c) An Ascetic Wilderness with Scope for Development. The fact that the promontory is isolated from all other populated places and relatively difficult of access from the landward side created—and continues to create—the strong impression of a separate monastic community whose inviolability is easy to maintain. Only transhumant shepherds could gain illicit entry, and, in effect, they were the only people to do so—on extremely rare occasions. Furthermore, the promontory was large enough to accommodate a considerable number of independent monasteries and countless hermitages. The other 'holy mountains', by way of contrast, were easily accessible from neighbouring villages which, by their mere existence, placed serious constraints on the scope of the monks to expand.

Athos was thus a monastic wilderness which was accessible from the sea and from which communications with the constantly growing monastery estates were easy. It was therefore an ideal place both for the solitude of the anchorite and the functioning of the coenobium; an area whose scope for development was unlimited in practical terms.

Athos became a Pan-Orthodox spiritual centre in which new ideas and new ideologies were tried out. As the defenders of the Eastern tradition, the Athonite monks were familiar with a number of trends but adopted hesychasm, which appeared in the 14th century to be a spiritual movement with ideological and even political implications. As a mystical theory, hesychasm enlisted supporters in the East and counterposed them against anything which originated in the West. In other words, the monastic promontory became a magnet for Orthodox Christendom. It was from this twist of history that Mt Athos drew its combativeness in the cause of the Orthodox Faith, while at the same time winning inestimable prestige throughout the Orthodox world.

As protectors of their own tradition and their own economic interests, the monks of Mt Athos treated the spread of the Ottoman Empire into Europe with foresight and prudence. They had learned from the fate of the Asia Minor monasteries, which were to all intents and purposes suppressed in the 14th century, and from their own sufferings at the hands of the naval raids of

Turkish emirates. They made their approaches to the Ottoman Sultan in good time —before he even crossed into Europe— and managed to safeguard the survival of the monasteries and their possessions. The monks of Mt Athos realised the inevitability of Ottoman conquest.

As the prestige and power of the Byzantine Empire waned, so the lustre and renown of Mt Athos grew. This was a period of general upheaval in the Balkans, and Slav monks flocked to the Holy Mountain. The other Orthodox nationalities endeavoured by all possible means to gain the upper hand, for political purposes (e.g., the Serbs in the 14th century). In the climate of general turmoil, invasion from outside the Balkans and internecine strife, Athos remained untouched, almost indifferent, and flourished once again, in a manner which is difficult to explain. During the 14th century the Pantokratoros, Gregoriou, Simonopetra, Koutloumousiou and Dionysiou Monasteries were founded or re-founded: Koutloumousiou brought Romanian influence to Athos for the first time, while Dionysiou brought that of the court at Trebizond. The Orthodox princes of the Balkans vied with one another to secure the best possible representation in this centre of Orthodoxy: a centre whose prestige was increasing as it ceased to belong exclusively to one state and which was developing into a truly inter-Orthodox monastic community.

It has often been pointed out that with the fall of the Byzantine Empire the Patriarchate undertook to perform, for Christians, some of the functions which the civil authorities had previously held. The continuation of the Empire can nowhere be seen better than on Mt Athos in Turkish times: led by the Greek-speaking monks, Athos embraced all the Orthodox without discrimination with soundness of belief and *Romiosyne*, the Greek tradition, as its sole criteria, just as they had been, in the past, for the Byzantine Empire.

The Byzantine Period

I. Tarnanidis

Our knowledge of the first stage in the history of the Monastery of Simonopetra, that is, from its foundation to its first renovation by the Serbian prince Ioannis Uglješa, relies exclusively on the Life of the Blessed Simon[1]. This means that is often difficult to check and cross-check the information we have, and this is why the references by historians and other travellers to the circumstances of Simonopetra's appearance on Mt Athos and its early history are usually brief and, understandably, similar to each other[2].

One partial exception to this rule is the account of the Russian archimandrite and subsequently bishop Porfyriy Uspenskij who, as he tells us, used some *"other sources"* for this period[3].

It is interesting to note that although Uspenskij's *"other sources"* were regarded as unreliable and ignored by later researchers, his general account of Simonopetra has formed the basis of every subsequent description. The penetrating gaze of Uspenskij was able to identify and assess whatever important historical information the archives of Mt Athos contained concerning the Monastery. Thus, he discovered that a Minute of Aghiou Panteleimonos Monastery dating from 1057 was signed by a certain Leontios, monk and priest of *"the Monastery of Simon"*[4], while another Minute of the same Monastery, drawn up in 1169, was signed by Theodosius, Abbot of the Monastery *"of Simon"*[5]. This evidence persuaded him that a Monastery *"of Simon"* had indeed existed on Mt Athos since the very earliest times. All that remained was to fill in the gap that still remained until the appearance of Simonopetra. Uspenskij's answer to this problem was contained in the simple, though, of course, unsupported, hypothesis: *"Soon after the occupation of Constantinople and Athos by the Crusaders, Simonopetra was laid waste. But then God sent the second Simon, who renovated it"*[6] and gave it life and continuity. However, the description which Uspenskij then provides on the basis of a manuscript *Life* of the second Simon makes it perfectly clear that, along general lines, this *Life* was identical to that which we have today. It follows that, according to Uspen-

skij's theory, the narrative of the *Life* of the Blessed Simon which is familiar to us today in fact concerns the renovation of the ruined *"Monastery of Simon"*.

With some reservations, of course, Gerasimos Smyrnakis would appear to adopt Uspenskij's view that the earlier *"Monastery of Simon"* and the more recent Simonopetra are one and the same. Writing of Simonopetra during the reign of Andronicus II (1282-1328), Smyrnakis states that it *"was numbered among the principal monasteries on Mount Athos"* and concludes with the hypothesis, which he describes as *"far from unlikely"*, that *"this was the monastery in question, unless perchance there was some other by the same name during the first period of monasticism on Athos (680-870)"* [7].

A more profound and searching approach to the historical evidence and the written records which have come down to us today —muniments which, as we believe and as we have attempted to demonstrate in an earlier study, are not located entirely in the realm of fantasy[8]— leads directly to the conclusion that the reservation on which Smyrnakis touches so fleetingly and superficially (in order to fill in the gaps) must in fact be quite close to reality. In other words, we ought to accept that in the earliest period of monastic life on Mt Athos there was another monastery by the same name, located on a site of which we are ignorant.

This conclusion is far from arbitrary, nor is it intended to subvert any earlier tradition. In actuality, it is based on the reliability of the descriptions given in the *Life* of the Blessed Simon, and thus on the historical nature of his person and work. If we examine with care the references in the *Life*, we shall see that the Blessed Simon is represented quite clearly as the founder of a monastery in an unpopulated area. No mention is made at any point of the ruins of an earlier monastery in this unpopulated area on which the Blessed Simon built first his church and then his coenobium. If there had been such ruins, we can see no reason for the biographer to suppress the fact. Indeed, it would perhaps have been excessively daring of him to ignore the sanctified memory of any Fathers who might have lived there as monks. Furthermore, if such had been the case he would have had every reason to invoke their memory, or at any rate that of the holy monastery which once flourished on that site, in order to enhance the prestige of the new monastery and of the activities of its second founder.

As can be seen from the events which followed, the Blessed Simon's vision was not long in becoming reality. Despite all the difficulties caused by its precipitous rock, the Monastery was completed —according to the *Life*— by around 1257, and *"was dwelt in by many"* [9]. The reputation of the Blessed Simon attracted monks to the new Monastery, which its founder had named *"new Bethlehem"* [10]. However, this name did not gain currency outside the community, and, by Athonite custom, the Monastery was given the name of its sanctified founder. In the Uglješa chrysobull which we shall be discussing below, the Monastery is referred to as *"the little monastery of Dominus Simon's rock"* [11], but it would seem that the epithet *"Simon's rock"* came down to this official document out of the furthest reaches of tradition, and it is not impossible that it may go back as far as the atmosphere of piety and thanksgiving which would have followed the dormition of the Blessed Simon himself.

Of the scanty information which the *Life* contains concerning the organisation of the Monastery in these early years, one point which is worth noting is that it is frequently referred to as a coenobium. It seems very likely that this frequent —even persistent— reference to the coenobitic life may be connected with a debate taking place in the Athonite monastic community as a whole in Simon's time or in the days of one of the copyists of his *Life*[12].

We know no more of this period in the history of the Monastery. The author of the *Life* says little of the life and work of the Blessed Simon in his new capacity as abbot, with the exception of an incident in which some Saracen pirates were beaten off. This is placed chronologically immediately after the occupation and operation of the Monastery[13]. The biographer describes the circumstances of the Blessed Simon's death and, after stating somewhat vaguely that *"He performed countless miracles every day"*[14], passes on to the second part of his narrative, which is generally devoted to the Serbian price Ioannis Uglješa, the second founder of the Monastery. Although the figure of the Blessed Simon continues to be predominant and to affect the acts of the Serbian prince and the fortunes of the coenobium, the actual historical events surrounding the renovation of the Monastery echo loud and clear.

Here the historical picture is quite plain. Apart from the powerful echoes of the events

which, as we have noted, the *Life* preserves for us, Uglješa's decision to renovate the Monastery and the action he took up to the time of fulfilment of his wish were clearly recorded in a special royal document: the chrysobull which he issued, presumably on the occasion of the inauguration of the new buildings, in the year 1368[15].

It has to be said at this point that, unfortunately, the original of this document has not survived. However, the Monastery has a faithful copy of it, whose making in 1622/23 was ordered by Cyril Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople, on the application of the monks (fig. 177). As the Patriarch tells us, the document was replaced because the original was in danger of being ruined *"being by the passage of many years old and tattered"*. For that reason, the Patriarch had an *"identical and unchanged"* copy made, which he himself ratified and which was signed by the members of the Synod and the other Patriarchal representatives[16]. The formality of the Patriarch's letter, the multiplicity of signatures and the witnessing of the document by the other members of the church administration leave no room for doubt that the text we see today is an *"identical and unchanged"* copy of that issued by the Serbian prince.

According to the chrysobull, then, Uglješa was impressed by what he had heard of the Blessed Simon and of the odour of sanctity which had recently begun to emerge from his tomb, and so he sent a letter to the Protos and the Holy Council asking permission to build *"in that empty place"* [17] —a phrase which is indicative of the state to which the Monastery had declined by the mid 14th century. The Protos and the Council were pleased to grant their unanimous consent, and, wasting no time, the prince immediately sent the priest-monk Euthymius with helpers and abundant cash to buy the site and set about constructing the Monastery. They built the entire Monastery, with its tower, its cells and its auxilliary facilities. The church was embellished with wall-paintings and endowed with numerous treasures, icons, books and gold-embroidered draperies, and the roof was covered with lead. The new building was dedicated, once more, to the Nativity of Christ and named *"New Bethlehem"*, *"because of the sign which the saint saw, that is, the star standing above the rock"* [18]. The chrysobull then goes on to list the *metochia* which Uglješa bought in various areas and dedicated to the Monastery. All were purchased with the order that the Monastery should possess and hold them *"as long as the Earth remains and the Sun looks upon it"* [19].

It was with justice, then, that the Serbian prince Ioannis Uglješa occupied the position of second founder of Simonopetra and great benefactor of the Monastery. Unfortunately, however, the fires which followed[20] left no trace of his brilliant and costly work. Nonetheless, it would seem that after this renovation and with its new possessions the Monastery prospered and flourished. One clear indication of this is the fact that, according to official documents[21], in 1394 Simonopetra occupied the 23rd position among the 25 monasteries of Mt Athos.

We have very little information about the period which followed, before and after the fall of Byzantium to the Turks. We can be sure that it continued to exist; references in the Minutes of the surrounding monasteries assure us of this. Its boundaries are mentioned, as are some of its abbots, who attended meetings of the Athonite community and signed decisions concerning issues of interest to Mt Athos as a whole[22].

Turkish Domination

C. Patrinelis

One might be tempted to think that the geographical isolation and the religious character of the Holy Mountain —lying, as it does, *"in the borderland between this world and the supraterrestrial"*, to quote St Gregory Palamas— would have served to protect it not only from secular tumult, but also from the dangers of the recurrent upheavals of war in the surrounding region; however, the dramatic events which unfolded in Macedonia in the 14th and 15th centuries, and, more generally, the shudders running through the frame of the

Byzantine Empire as its collapse approached produced such reverberations and had practical consequences of such immediacy that it was impossible for the Athonite community to remain outside the vortex of history.

It has already been mentioned in the preceding chapter that the founder of the Simonopetra Monastery, Ioannis Uglješa, was himself killed in the Battle of the Maritsa in 1371 —a battle which marked the end of Serbian ascendancy in Macedonia and the beginning of the rapid advance of the Turks towards the Greek peninsula. By 1387, Thessaloniki and the whole of Macedonia formed a part of Turkish territory; it was only after the Battle of Angora (1402), so disastrous for the Turks, that it appeared possible that there could be any recovery in the fortunes of the Christians. For 20 years Byzantine rule was restored in Thessaloniki, a part of Halkidiki and over Mt Athos, but in the end the pressure from the Turks became irresistible. In 1423, the last governor of Thessaloniki, Andronicus Palaeologus, son of the Emperor Manuel II, abandoned the city and took refuge on Mt Athos. Foreseeing a bleak future, he advised the Athonite monks to come to terms with the changed state of affairs in good time. A note in a codex of the Vatopedi Monastery tells us that *"in the year 6932 [from the creation of the world = 1423/24], the Holy Mountain did homage to the Sultan Amouratis [Murat] in Adrianople, on the advice of the much-lamented lord Kyr Andronicus Palaeologus"*[1]. This time the Turkish occupation was to last 488 years.

In their relations with the secular authorities, whoever they might be, the monks of Mt Athos always attached primary importance to two matters: the preservation of their administrative autonomy, and the safeguarding of their landed property, both on Athos and elsewhere. A compromise solution on both these issues was eventually reached with their new overlords. Initially, Mt Athos formed part of the *Kaza* (province) of Sidirokafsia, without, however, the Turkish authorities being present on the Mountain's territory. At a later date, the Holy Mountain was granted as a fief to the Bostancibashi (the head of the Sultan's palace guard), whose representative, called the Aga or *'Zambitis'* of Mt Athos, was resident in Karyes, with a small garrison, the *'seïmenides'*, supposedly to keep order. More painful —even with repeated concessions on the part of the Turkish authorities— was the settlement of the question of the monasteries' property. To begin with, the landed property of the monasteries was not only recognised, but was even accorded favourable treatment; later, however, it was twice confiscated: in 1433 by the Sultan Murat, and in 1568 by Sultan Selim II, who according to a brief contemporary chronicle, *"ruined and plundered the monasteries and took their livelihood"* [2]. On both occasions the Athonite monks managed to buy back their property, but only after being forced to contract the heaviest of debts and to accept the obligation of paying an annual poll tax *(haraç)* and other 'donations' into the Sultan's coffers. Thus, from the end of the 16th century the finances of the monasteries declined into an ineluctable vicious circle: they were forced every so often to conclude new loans to meet not only their debts from the past, but also their annual tax obligations, not to mention frequent fines (*'tzeremedes'*), the pay of the Aga and the guard, the redemption of pledges,*'baksheesh'* to the powerful of the day and, of course, the upkeep of the monasteries and the monks.

It was, then, against this grim background of outside influences, which with minor variations remained unchanged throughout the entire period of Turkish domination, that the history of the Simonopetra Monastery was acted out. Of the first two centuries of its life little is known, since the main potential source, its archive, was destroyed in the fire of 1580. It would seem, however, to have functioned without interruption. As early as the so-called Third *Typikon* (1394) it is listed 23rd of the 25 monasteries then established on Mt Athos. In 1452, we hear of a certain former Protos of the Holy Mountain by the name of Dorotheos *"from the Rock (Petra) of St Simon"*, as he himself notes next to his signature[3]. This or another Dorotheos became Protos in 1466/67 [4]. Documents dating from 1471 and 1472 bear the signature of *"the abbot of Simonopetra, Gennadios, monk"* [5].

In 1489, in a brief description of the Holy Mountain by the Russian monk Isaiah of Chilandari, Simonopetra is mentioned as a Bulgarian monastery with 40 monks[6]. Although Isaiah is not infallible (he states that Simonopetra is dedicated to the Apostle Peter), this particular item seems to be correct. Moreover, in a document of 1503, the Abbot, Ananias, signs in Slavonic script[7]. The brief ascendancy of the Bulgarians does not mean that there were

no Greek monks in the Monastery. In 1494, for example, the Monastery's representative at Karyes signs in Greek: *"Isidoros, elder of Simonopetra"* [8], and at a slightly later period, all the Abbots of whom we know signed their names in Greek: Kallistos in 1518, Dometios in 1527 and Ioasaph in 1528[9]. The nationality of the Abbot Daniel-Prochoros, formerly of Chilandari, encountered in 1516/17[10], remains unclear. However, he, or his successor Kallistos, was among those invited by the Prince of Wallachia Neagoe Bassarab to the dedication of the Curtea de Argeș Monastery in 1517 [11].

For the period immediately following, interesting information on the Monastery, its finances and the state of its buildings can be drawn from a series of nine —at least— letters, sent by the Abbot and the 'brethren' to various persons, soliciting their aid [12]. Two of these letters bear the signature of the then Abbot Grigorios, while among the recipients named are Grigorios, Metropolitan of Zichnai [13], and the Thessaloniki nobles Dukas Kritopoulos and Kyra Assanina, widow of Theodore Gerakis [14]. Two other letters are circulars and another is addressed to the Christians of Lemnos (where the Monastery had a *metochi*, the so-called Trygi Metochi). All the letters are unpublished copies of the originals —unfortunately, with frequent omissions of names and dating. However, on the basis of internal evidence, they can be dated to the period 1530 - 1540.

In giving what must necessarily be a summary account of their contents and selecting the most important information which they supply, it should be noted first of all that the Monastery had recently been revitalised by the recruitment of new monks: *"...in a short time ... most useful priest-monks and monks have come to the monastery to the number of forty and still come; and with the help of God the Holy the holy monastery is being restored little by little..."* [15]. In another letter it is explained that *"by the help of God and the benefactions of munificent Christians, the decayed walls of the fortifications and the cells and the decoration and adornment of the church, that is to say, that of the wall-paintings, have been refurbished"* [16]. Nevertheless, the Monastery had other pressing needs, but lacked the financial means to supply them:

"There are only three great undertakings pleasing to God which we have not had the strength to carry out: the roof of the monastery from long years of exposure to the weather, the lead has worn and the dome takes in water from the winter storms and rains, as does the whole of the roof of the monastery; and the wall-paintings are in danger of being wiped away by the abundance of water...Second, and the greater matter, the dearth of water, which ... in former times came to within the monastery, but from the passage of time its conduit has broken and we bring it from without and that with great toil...and in wintertime, when a strong wind blows, it continues often for even four days and confines us within the monastery and we are not able to go out to cross the bridge to fetch water...Third, we have no infirmary; and the sick and the old and feeble have not where to lay their heads..." [17].

It would seem that these oft-repeated appeals for help met with some response. In one of their letters, the monks of Simonopetra thank the Thessaloniki noblewoman Kyra Assanina for her benefactions :

"...which you have made to us humble monks, and indeed in the holy monastery, where we had so great a dearth of water...and you performed so great a good work and brought the water within the monastery and we poor monks obtained some small relief and...we bless your late lamented lord Kyr Theodore Gerakis..." [18].

However, life continued to be difficult, and every so often unexpected disasters lay in wait, as we learn from another letter:

" ...We sent out our sandali [boat] with certain of the brethren to Longos [Sithonia] to buy leather for the feet of the poor monks and they were taken by the ships of the corsairs; the sandali they left in the sea...and brought only the poor monks naked and half-dead with floggings and wounds; and we took four thousand aspers [Turkish coins] at interest and we redeemed them; and the debt increases day by day and we have no assistance whatever" [19].

The shortage of money, it would seem, sometimes was such that the Monastery lacked even basic foodstuffs:

"...for our great misery and indigence...we beg that you would take pity...each whatever he can and sees fit, to eke out our bread, that is cheeses or whatever else he has for the monastery..." [20].

In the mid 16th century or a little later, the Abbot of the Monastery was a certain Cassian,

"also called Aravos", who is known to us from a memoir he wrote of the last days and death (in 1544) of Theophanis Apsaras (who, together with his brother Nektarios, founded the Varlaam Monastery at Meteora). From this interesting historical text it can be concluded not only that Cassian was remarkably well educated, but also that he had been a disciple of Theophanis Apsaras at the Varlaam Monastery[21]. In 1566/67, in all probability while Cassian was Abbot, Simonopetra was visited by another man of letters, Damaskinos, Bishop of Lite and Rendina, better known as Damaskinos the Studite, author of the *Thesaurus*, the most popular book of the period of Turkish domination[22].

In the same year, 1567, the rebuilding of the tower of the Monastery's *arsanas* was completed. According to the inscription which still survives, the expense of this was met by *"the most worshipful lord Oxiotis Agas [ágas, not to be confused with the Turkish ağa]"* an official, that is, at the court of the Prince of Wallachia. Oxiotis is known to us from similar benefactions to the Epirot monasteries of Molyvdoskepastos and Yiromeriou (where in an inscription of 1568 he is described as *"Pogonian(i)tis"*, that is, from Pogoniani in Epirus[23]).

The first of the two or three most ill-starred days in the long history of the Monastery was 11 December 1580, the day on which it was totally gutted by fire. Some of the monks lost their lives, but the majority —at least 20, together with the Abbot Evyenios[24]— not only survived, but managed to save the Monastery's coffers, in which, it seems, large sums of money were deposited. It was thanks to their financial independence that the monks of Simonopetra were able to find temporary accommodation at the Xenophontos Monastery, of which they also took over the administration. As a consideration for this hospitality and ceding of authority, it was agreed that they should take over the debts of Xenophontos, which amounted to the very considerable sum of 200,000 *aspra*[25]. At the same time, the Simonopetra monks hastened to Constantinople in order to secure by a *sigillium* of the Patriarch their proprietorship over the estates of their Monastery, since the title deeds had been destroyed in the fire[26].

The rebuilding of the burnt-out monastery called for vast sums of money. In order to find these funds, the Abbot Evyenios went to Wallachia in 1587, extending his stay there until 1592[27]. Here it should be noted that earlier, in around 1566, the Great Postelnik at the Court of Wallachia, Gheorma, also from Pogoniani, together with his wife, Caplea, had donated to Simonopetra the Monastery of St Nicholas, which they had recently built in the Palcov suburb of Bucharest. What was more to the point, however, was that this monastery had been so richly endowed with property —both by the Gheorma couple and by the Princes of Wallachia Alexander (in 1575) and Mihnea (in 1586 and 1587) —that, according to a patriarchal *sigillium* of 1591, *"it teemed with goods of every kind, both movable and immovable...and it abounds in gifts to it of vineyards, fields, watermills, large villages, together with the Egyptian [gypsy] serfs therein, and much besides"* [28]. Nevertheless, its site left something to be desired, as it stood in a *"pestilent and wholly marshy"* spot. This problem was solved by a young noble of the vicinity: on a nearby hill he built:

"Another metochi, greatly superior...and another church, decorous and prominent, in the name of the great Nicholas, and having ascribed this metochi to the venerable Monastery of Simonopetra, he built kellia around it in great number...and further dedicated both sacred vessels and silver and gold decoration of every kind; moreover, he added to these things villages, together with their serfs..." [29].

The new acquisition of the Simonopetra monks was secured by a *sigillium* of the Patriarch Jeremiah II, who at that time (1590-1592) was in Wallachia, on his way back from his historic journey to Russia. It is worth adding that the whole of the landed property of the old St Nicholas *metochi*, the benefaction of the Gheorma, was transferred to the ownership of the new one. This munificent founder and benefactor of the new St Nicholas was none other than Michael,'Ban' then and later to be Prince of Wallachia (1593-1601), who has gone down in the history and traditions of the Romanian and Greek peoples as Michael the Brave.

In the meantime on Mt Athos, work was going ahead on the rebuilding of the Monastery from its ashes. By April of 1586, its monks were once again back in their monastery, as can be concluded from a note by one of them, writing in manuscript codex No 46: *"Of the year 7094 [1586] April 30, the present book was completed by the hands of my sinful self, the monk Kyrillos...in the Monastery of Simonopetra"*[30].

The second of the Monastery's black days was 8 June 1622, when another fire broke out in the Monastery[31]; this time, however, it did not involve the total destruction which that of 1580 had. Once more, the monks of Simonopetra lost no time in having the Monastery's founding charter, the chrysobull of the lord Ioannis Uglješa, ratified in Constantinople. At the same time, they set to work on the repair of those parts of the Monastery which had been damaged by the fire. As early as the next year, 1623, the Abbot Timotheos dedicated the restored *katholikon*[32], which ten years later, when Ioasaph was Abbot, was painted[33].

It was at some time around the year 1620 that the Monastery, following the general trend, became idiorrhythmic, and from the mid 17th century a decline is noticeable in the activities of the Monastery, evidenced by the sparseness of the information which we have about it. If we judge from its share in the *sydosia* (an annual proportional contribution of each monastery to the common expenses of the Holy Mountain), both its complement of monks and its wealth must have diminished significantly. More specifically, from 1621 to 1678, Simonopetra's share in the sydosia was 54 thousandths[34]. This was reduced in 1678 to 40 thousandths. At the same time, it had to deal with various debts, which in 1644 amounted to 7,000 piastres[35]. In spite of this, however, in 1661 the Monastery was in a position to purchase two *kellia* for 405 piastres[36].

In the late 17th and in the first half of the 18th centuries, the Simonopetra Monastery was visited by various travellers, some of whom give interesting information about it. The earliest, in 1677, was John Covel, chaplain to the British Embassy in Constantinople[37]. Twenty years later, the doctor and man of letters Ioannis Komninos Molyvdos paid a visit to Simonopetra, and devoted an interesting chapter in his *Proskynitarion* to the Monastery. He was followed in 1706 by the French Jesuit Braconnier[38] and in 1740 by the British jurist Richard Pococke, who described Simonopetra as *"the most curious of all the convents"* [39]. However, the most important visitor was the Russian Vasily Barskij; during his long sojourn in the Greek East, he visited the Monastery twice, in 1725 and 1744, and has left us the longest and fullest of descriptions of Simonopetra, together with a fine plan of the area.

The general impression gained from these travellers' accounts, as well as from sources, is that the Monastery was then in an advanced state of decline. While, for example, on his first visit in 1725, Barskij notes that it had *"a fair number of monks"*, on his second, 20 years later, he comments:

"The Monastery then was in a state of considerable confusion because of its great poverty and its debts, which exceeded 50,000 leva. For this reason, its creditors seized many valuable items [belonging to the Monastery] as pledges. Of the monks, being unable to pay the Turks the intolerable taxes, some departed to other, richer, monasteries, while others roamed in 'the world' in search of alms. There were only five of them left there" [40].

In the years which followed, the situation deteriorated to the point where, according to the codex of the Monastery:

"In 1762, April 15, came the spiritual father papa-Païsios, the Serb, with his monks, some thirty five of them...and he entered our Monastery to dwell here for good, to guard it and to rule it [as] general master, and he was not able to, but rather he left it and departed to Moldavia; and on his departure, the Monastery was closed up and the Great Mese had authority over it" [41].

This was the learned Russian —not Serbian— monk Païsios Velitskovski, reviver of the hesychast movement and one of the most important personalities in the history of the Holy Mountain. It was intolerable pressure from the Monastery's creditors which compelled him to leave Simonopetra. After his departure, as noted in the account above, the Monastery came under the authority of the Great Mese (the central administration of Mt Athos), which, in order to meet the massive debts of the Monastery, decided in 1763 to put up for sale its *metochia* at Kassandra, at Ayios Nikolaos, Sithonia, and that of St Charalampus in Thessaloniki[42]. Moreover, it seems that on the sale of these properties there were grave irregularities and some deliberate concealment of title deeds of the Monastery, for which later (1785) the Patriarch Gavriil IV threatened with severe penances those members of the Holy Community who had handled the matter at the time[43].

In the meantime, in 1765, the Monastery started to function again, thanks to the vigorous papa-Ioasaph, from Mytilene. Journeying *"for the sake of alms"* in Asia Minor, Samos,

Thessaloniki and elsewhere, he managed finally to collect the sum of almost 8,000 piastres. With this capital he was able to buy back the Monastery's metochia, to redeem some of its debts, to restore parts of the Monastery itself and even to pay a part of the ransom to regain the relic of St Mary Magdalene — the *palladium* of Simonopetra— which some 25 years before had been carried off by Barbary pirates[44]. The work of reconstruction of Ioasaph was carried on —until at least 1795— by the sacristan Ioakeim. He too journeyed *"for the collection of alms"*, and, with the addition of his own contributions, collected a sum of 14,000 piastres, which he spent largely on repairs to the Monastery's buildings[45].

This optimistic picture of the flurry of creative and restorative activity of these two heads of the Monastery is painted for us by the author of the relevant documents in its Codex A, who was the contemporary of the events which he describes. It would seem, however, that this portrayal is in more rosy colours than was justified, or at least that things took on a darker hue immediately after Ioasaph's term of office, since in 1800, the Patriarch Neophytos VII asked the authorities of the Holy Mountain to find out who had plunged the Monastery into debt and who had stolen its property[46]. Furthermore, in the historic *sigillium* of the Patriarch Kallinikos V, by which Simonopetra was reinstated as a coenobium (December 1801), it is stated that the monks of Simonopetra had already informed the Patriarch of *"the pitiful state...of the Monastery... and of the very weighty and excessive debts laid upon it as a result of the bad management of those who had previously served as its heads and of the repeated common contributions and of chance circumstances..."*[47]. This grim picture is confirmed —from the same source, however: the Simonopetra monks— by the British professor J. D. Carlyle, who visited the Monastery a few months earlier[48].

The same *sigillium* of the Patriarch Kallinikos confirmed the election of the priest-monk Yakinthos as Abbot of Simonopetra, but on the unprecedented condition that he should be subject to the Monastery's sacristan Kyrillos, *"being better than him [Yakinthos] in every way"* [!]. Furthermore, Kyrillos, who, as the sigillium says, had saved the Monastery from certain ruin, was accorded the right to appoint the next Abbot. With such a ranking of authority, a breach between the two was only a matter of time; it occurred in 1806, but with Yakinthos as loser. It was the new Abbot Dionysios who finally managed to rid himself of the overlordship of Kyrillos (1808), who throughout this period, it is worth noting, was administrator of the Mihail-Voda metochi in Bucharest.

Dionysios, however, was to be faced with much more difficult problems, since the last eight years of his rule coincided with the occupation and looting of Mt Athos by Turkish troops (1821-1830). In 1822, Simonopetra was obliged to contribute 1/30 (50,000 piastres!) to the huge fine imposed by the Turks on the Holy Mountain because of its participation in the revolutionary movement of Emmanuel Papas[49]. At the same time, the Turkish garrison posted in the Monastery indulged in looting and destruction. Some of the monks took the Monastery's treasures and fled to southern Greece, which had now risen in revolt[50]. In 1819, Dionysios was in Bucharest, and in 1823, of the 38 monks which Simonopetra had had before the War of Independence, not a single one remained[51].

When the Turkish garrison finally left the Holy Mountain (1830), Dionysios, formerly Bishop of Milos, and the priest Amvrosios, who was elected Abbot in 1831, had already established themselves in the Monastery[52]. In 1835 Simonopetra had 40 monks, but the unity of the monastic brotherhood was, it seems, constantly put to the test. The crisis came in 1847, when there were violent demonstrations against the Abbot. Finally, 17 monks left the Monastery, and Amvrosios died in the same year. A provisional council which managed the affairs of the Monastery during the 13 months which followed was not distinguished for its integrity. The new Abbot, Serapheim Karamanis (1848-1861), from Alatsata in Asia Minor, managed to restore some order to the situation and to reduce the Monastery's debts to a certain extent, but there was a recrudescence of the problems in more acute form during the abbacy of Neophytos Molakas (1861-1906)[53], also from Alatsata. From the very start Neophytos was faced with a powerful faction of monks opposed to him, who went so far as to resort to the Patriarchate in an effort to overthrow him. Finally, a patriarchal exarch sorted matters out temporarily, compelling the opposition to leave the Monastery. However, apart from the problems on the domestic front, Neophytos involved himself in endless and costly litigation with the Gregoriou

and Koutloumousiou Monasteries, on the one hand, and with the inhabitants of Ayios Nikolaos, Sithonia, over some property of the Monastery at Vourvourou, on the other. He nevertheless has the building of the present southern wing of the Monastery (1862-1864) to his credit, though this took place at a time which was hardly auspicious for expenditure: in 1863 the newly-constituted Romanian state confiscated all church land within its territory, thus depriving Simonopetra of the profitable metochi of Mihail-Voda at Bucharest. Twenty years later, however, the Monastery was able to build a guest house at Dafni, chiefly for the Russian pilgrims who at that time were visiting the Holy Mountain in their thousands. This was the period at which the Russian efforts to gain total control over the Mt Athos were reaching their climax. Neophytos was, indeed, accused of favouring the Russians, with a view to obtaining permission to raise funds in Russia[54]. This permission was given in 1888 and Neophytos, at the head of a delegation of Simonopetra monks, left for Russia, where he stayed until 1892. And it was there that the news reached him of the destruction of the Monastery by the fire of 27/28 May 1891.

The 20th Century

A.-E. Tachiaos

The last decade of the 19th century began for Simonopetra with a sad event which gravely disturbed its smooth functioning as a monastery and as an economic unit. On the night of 27/28 May 1891, fire broke out in the eastern part of the Monastery and did terrible damage to the whole building. At the time, Abbot Neophytos was in Russia with the priest-monk Dionysios and the deacon Ioannikios —subsequently Abbot of the Monastery— on a fund-raising tour. In his absence, a committee of three monks had been appointed to administer the Monastery. Abbot Neophytos was to be away for a total of four years. News of the fire reached him in Rostov, in the form of a telegram from the Russian monks of Aghiou Panteleimonos. Although grieved by the sad tidings, he decided not to hasten back to the Monastery; instead, he applied to the Russian authorities for an extension of his permit of residence there, so that he could raise more money to reconstruct the gutted buildings.

His appeals for financial assistance found a response only among the broad masses of the Russian people; the senior clergy displayed very little interest. Among those who did take to heart the cause of Simonopetra, however, was St John of Kronstadt, who donated 300 roubles from his own personal fortune. We do not know the size of the sum that Neophytos was eventually able to collect during his four years in Russia, but we do know that the first two years of his endeavours raised approximately 70,000 roubles and the third a further 40,000[1]. According to the expectations of the monks, the sum collected during the first two years would have been sufficient to pay off the Monastery's existing debts, but now the cost of reconstruction had to be taken into account as well. The money raised was used to buy a certain number of ecclesiastical vessels and vestments to replace those lost in the fire. The Athonite community itself was not unmoved by the disaster that had overcome Simonopetra: the Holy Community issued a circular urging the monasteries to help in the work of reconstruction, and a sum of 500 gold Turkish lire was raised (200 of them from Vatopedi Monastery alone).

Abbot Neophytos and his retinue returned from Russia, as we have noted, after an absence of four years. The sight that awaited them was far worse than any description they had heard in the meantime. The Monastery which Neophytos had renovated and embellished at great expense and with much toil, and to which he had donated his own personal fortune[2], was in a lamentable state. An inventory of the damage was drawn up by the Abbot himself, in a document entitled *Memorandum of the Venerable, Imperial and Patriarchal Monastery known as Simonopetra*. This text, which has never been published, shows the exact extent of the destruction. The fire had begun in the bakery and had immediately spread to the eastern part

of the Monastery, gutting it completely. Then the *katholikon* had caught fire; it, too, was burned down, along with all the icons, the vessels and the vestments. The chandeliers and the candelabra melted in the heat. The manuscripts in the library —which was above the narthex— numbering some 250[3], and all the printed books were lost as well.

The funds which had been raised were used to begin the work of reconstruction. The architect invited to plan the work was named Ioannis Stylianou, from Valsamo, near Kastoria; he had been responsible for the rebuilding of the south wing of the Monastery in 1862-1864. Reconstruction of the east wing included a six-storey building with two chapels. The katholikon was restored, but rectification of the damage meant that other needs had to be met, as well: in April 1893, the Monastery purchased, from the heirs of the noble family of Constantine Themelis (of the town of Darda in North Epirus), a *cibotium* containing portions of the relics of various saints. Once the buildings had been restored, the monks turned to the task of reconstituting the library. This task was entrusted to a certain Nilos, a monk of outstanding talent and learning for whom books were an object of especial zeal. In 1908, the Monastery gave him official instructions to travel to Athens and purchase theological and religious books to form the nucleus of the new library. Nilos returned with a large number of valuable works, many of which had been donated by his friends and acquaintances[4]. These he added to his own collection, which he had already given to the library. The campaign to restock the library is an indication of the high intellectual and spiritual standards of the Fathers of Simonopetra at this time.

The fact that the Russian monks of Aghiou Panteleimonos had acted as mediators in 1888 to ensure that the Fathers of Simonopetra obtained the permits from the Russian ecclesiastical and civil authorities necessary for their journey to Russia gave them the right to claim certain services in return —a right which coincided with Simonopetra's own need for financial support. That is why, in the early years of the 20th century, we find a building at Dafni belonging to Simonopetra being used as the post office and agency for the Russian shipping line and as the *konaki* of the Russian *skete* of St Andrew. The Russian monks paid a sizeable sum in rent for this facility. However, the Russian demands went still further, and they exerted pressure on Simonopetra to concede to them a coastal site near the Monastery where they could build a boatyard for Aghiou Panteleimonos[5]. In the end, this demand was not satisfied.

The hardships caused by the fire and its aftermath brought to Abbot Neophytos a feeling of fatigue and growing physical weakness, exacerbated by his great age. Elected Abbot in 1861, he had served in that capacity for forty-five years when, on 9 March 1906, he took the decision to resign and go into retreat. The priest-monk Ioannikios, who had gained the respect and affection of the Fathers of the Monastery, was elected as his successor. Like Neophytos, Ioannikios was from Alatsata in Asia Minor, where he was born in 1864. He became a monk at Simonopetra in 1884, and three years later was ordained deacon. In 1888, he had travelled to Russia as part of Neophytos' retinue and made himself particularly useful: he was the only monk of Simonopetra who spoke Russian, an accomplishment of which Abbot Neophytos was highly appreciative[6]. The dawn of the 20th century found Simonopetra flourishing. The monks numbered approximately 70, most of them from Asia Minor. They included a considerable number of brethren whose asceticism and virtue did much to win Simonopetra a special place in the hearts and minds of the Athonite community.

While Ioannikios was abbot, some significant changes came about in the Monastery's historical orientation. On 2 November 1912 the battle-ship *Averoff* anchored at Dafni and, amid the rejoicings of the monks, declared Mt Athos free[7]. The liberation of the Holy Mountain coincided with the time at which all the legal texts concerning the administration of the monastic peninsula were being codified. The Ecumenical Patriarchate had addressed itself to this task in 1874 and 1880, but its attempts had foundered on the disagreement of the monks. In order to resolve the issue, Patriarch Ioakeim III sent Irenaios, Metropolitan of Kassandreia, to Mt Athos, and with the co-operation of the Holy Community he prepared the *General Regulations of Mt Athos*, which were approved by resolution of the Holy Community on 31 October 1911 and ratified by the Patriarchate on 9 January 1912. However, the Russians refused to recognise Greek sovereignty over Mt Athos, and the Treaty of London of May 1913 left the question

open. This compelled the Anthonite monks to protest in their *Resolution* of 3 October 1913, which bears the signature of Ioannikios, Abbot of Simonopetra[8].

While Ioannikios was Abbot an event occurred which proved to be of great importance for the Monastery. In 1908, the priest Ignatios, who was a relative of Nilos the monk, donated to Simonopetra a piece of land (on which stood a church dedicated to the Ascension) in the Pangrati district of Athens. Simonopetra thus acquired a *metochi* in the capital, and it developed into a intellectual and spiritual centre representing the Monastery in Athenian society.

The name of Abbot Ieronymos, who was one of the most eminent Athonite monks in the modern period and who succeeded Ioannikios, is especially associated with this metochi. Ieronymos was born at Alatsata in 1871. He became a monk at Simonopetra in 1888, and in April 1920 was ordained deacon and priest. Within a few days —on the recommendation of Ioannikios, who wished to retire— he was elected Abbot as well. The brilliant and spiritually radiant personality of Ieronymos marked the start of a new page in the Monastery's history; but, as is often the case with such men, his personality made him many enemies, who waged war on him by unfair and libellous means. In 1931, after four months of expulsion to Koutloumousiou Monastery —where his stay proved beyond all doubt the sterling nature of his moral character— Ieronymos left the Monastery for good and settled at the Metochi of the Ascension in Athens. His departure was the beginning of Simonopetra's intellectual and spiritual decline, because some twenty of its monks left Mt Athos with him. Nonetheless, the spirituality of Ieronymos continued to keep the Monastery's name bright in Athens and throughout Greece, and Ieronymos himself became a charismatic spiritual guide to hundreds, if not thousands, of souls. A prudent, virtuous and revered monk, he had in 1921 served on the committee which prepared the *Charter of Mt Athos*, which was ratified in 1926 and, as a law of the Greek State, forms the foundation on which the monastic community is still governed today. Among Ieronymos' spiritual accomplishments was the composition of a number of litanies and services for a variety of saints, most of them connected with Mt Athos[9]. Despite his justified feelings of bitterness, he never broke off his relations with the Monastery and he never ceased to take a lively interest in its problems. Together with his other virtues, his toleration of the ill-will of others was a sign of his spiritual stature and greatness.

When the Abbot Ieronymos departed this life in 1957, Simonopetra entered a period of decline. In fact, the late 1950s and the whole of the following decade saw a drastic reduction in the number of monks on Mt Athos generally, and this dwindling in human resources gave rise to very gloomy thoughts about the future of the monastic peninsula. The situation affected Simonopetra too, of course, which was reduced to a very few monks, all of them advanced in years. In 1963, the thousandth anniversary of the establishment of the community on Mt Athos was celebrated with great pomp, in the presence of the Ecumenical Patriarch and almost all the other leaders of the Orthodox Churches, but as soon as the festivities were over and the hundreds of guests and visitors had departed, the spectre of depopulation spread its melancholy wings over the Holy Mountain once more.

Although the monks of Mt Athos are not fatalists, they have always reacted with patience to unfavourable historical events and adverse circumstances in the hope that the Virgin, Protector of the Holy Mountain, will ensure the survival of her 'garden'. Their hopes were not in vain. In 1973, the monastic brotherhood of the Monastery of the Transfiguration, Meteora, consisting of some 25 monks under their Abbot Aimilianos Vafeidis, of Asia Minor stock, resolved to move to Simonopetra. This lent strength to the spiritual rebirth of Mt Athos, which was just beginning at that time[10]. The elderly monks received the new brethren with joy, and were glad to accept Aimilianos as their new Abbot. The number of monks soon swelled to exceed 50.

One of the features of the rebirth of the Monastery has been its acquisition of new metochia. Apart from those of the Ascension in Athens and St Charalampus in Thessaloniki, Simonopetra has a number of new metochia in Greece and abroad. Those in Greece are the Monastery of St Nicodemus at Goumenissa in Macedonia, where 15 Fathers lead the monastic life, and the convent of the Annunciation at Ormylia, Halkidiki. This community was founded in June 1974 by a small group of nuns most of whom were close blood relations of the new Simonopetra monks and had been leading the monastic life at the Sts Theodore convent in the Meteora.

With the nun Nicodeme as their Abbess, the nuns settled at Ormylia in an old metochi building belonging to Vatopedi Monastery, which Simonopetra purchased, restored and extended. Today, it is a large coenobitic foundation with some 100 nuns.

Simonopetra has three metochia abroad, all of them in France. They were founded by Placide Deseille, formerly a Roman Catholic Trappist monk at the Belle-Fontaine Monastery in Normandy, who was converted to Orthodoxy and, with three other brethren, was baptised into his new faith at Simonopetra. They set up an Orthodox Monastery of St Antony in southern France; the community now numbers 10 monks. The spiritual impact of this new foundation was such that it stimulated the founding of two small convents in France, those of Our Lady as Protector and of the Transfiguration, with ten and five nuns, respectively. These new metochia differ from those of the past in that their purpose is not primarily to channel funds into the Monastery, as used to be the case, but that they act as spiritual outposts of it, conveying into the 'world' something of its radiance and representing the spiritual presence of Mt Athos in general.

On 14 August 1990 a forest fire broke out on Mt Athos. It burned for 14 whole days and dealt Simonopetra a vital blow: 950 hectares of the Monastery's property was burned, of which 700 consisted of vineyards, olive groves and scrub land and the remainder of commercial forest producing fir, chestnut and oak. The Monastery's irrigation system was ruined and nine outlying *kellia,* including that of St Simon, founder of the Monastery (a building dating from 1744) were burned down. The main Monastery building suffered serious damage[11]. Exactly a century after the great fire which destroyed Simonopetra, the Monastery is once again facing problems similar to those of that time. But the monks of Simonopetra will continue their spiritual progress tirelessly, sure in their hope that, as in the past, Our Lady and their founder St Simon will assist them to make good the damage.

Time[1]

S. Papadopoulos

"And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and for years" (Genesis 1: 14).

"...no matter how people choose to reckon time...the method always reflects the basic periodicities induced upon us by the natural world...out of the repeatable phenomena of nature's cycles, both physical and biological" [2].

The monastery is a world within a world—the rural world.

The rural society's relationship with the natural world, through its use of the land, means that it must organise its time; in other words, it must co-ordinate its efforts and plan the work of the community as a whole and of the families which make it up. The rhythm of this organisation is provided by natural phenomena and biorhythms[3] all of which obey a cycle of repetition and, in turn, induce the cyclical manner in which time is conceived and experienced, in which the calendar is organised, in which the world is ordered[4].

In rural societies, time is a regular cyclical succession of diametrically opposed natural conditions (light/darkness, summer/winter) and of biological and productive acts (sleep/waking, work/rest). The cyclical alternation of work (day) and rest (night), of the week's toil and the Sunday holiday, of the lunar month (weeks) and the solar year (seasons), provides the members of such societies with a sense of security amid the prevailing uncertainty (old age, natural disasters, wars) and allows long-term planning. The pace of rural society is generally slow, variable and close to the biological rhythms. Time is rarely pressing (though there is a Greek saying, *"summer, harvest and war wait for no man"*). One works as hard as one can, and when circumstances permit. Life is short, in any case, and far from certain; demands and

opportunities are few and far between. Time (whether natural, rural, pre-industrial or traditional: the terms are equivalent in meaning) is expectant, patient, slow—almost immobile; time is relative and local; time is dependent on the customs, occupations and landmarks of each place. It is experienced primarily as present, as a repetition of yesterday, of 'since ever when'. Further back than the two, or at the most three, generations which can be subjected to a manner of control in the form of oral testimony as biography or as a record of important natural or cosmic events (earthquakes, wars), and over and above occasional monuments which have been located in the area 'since olden times', all the rest is misty and vague.

The fundamental unit for measuring time and organising the calendar is the period consisting of one day and one night. During the day, the position of the sun, landmarks[5] and the daily tasks (in particular, the feeding-times for humans and animals) are the elements by which time is defined (beginning, duration and end), and the usual tools or human dimensions (fathom, ell, cubit, palm-breadth, foot, height of a man) are the units by which its passage is measured[6]. The night is the time for rest; the crowing of the cocks[7] and the appearance of the stars (evening and morning star) provide those who have work to do at nightfall or daybreak with sufficient indication of time[8]. The day + night unit begins at sunset (in both the ecclesiastical and the Turkish time-scales) and is divided into two unequal parts (day and night), since, depending on the time at which the sun rises and sets, the nights are longer than the days (winter) or vice versa (summer). Day and night are of equal duration only at the equinoxes. Accuracy is a matter for the quantitative world of machinery and of the clock, the ultimate machine; qualitative time is relative. The week, with its six days of labour and one day of rest, is a very ancient unit of time for the organisation of work: *"And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it"* (Genesis 2: 2-3)[9]. There are seven days, seven planets, seven ages of man, and each week is approximately one quarter of the lunar cycle. Sunday, the holiday, is set apart, as is market day —on which all the area's financial activities reach their climax— among working days. The month (= moon, etymologically) is the time of the lunar cycle; the moon *"intrudes itself upon us, displaying its variability in shape, light and position as well as a reversability in its cycle...Its changing aspects make it nature's ideal event marker as it exhibits noticeable differences from night to night"*[10]. Last of all, the year, the complete revolution of the earth around the sun, is the largest and most formal of the units of measurement. Its four seasons mark out the changes in nature, but farmers obey primarily the cycles of their crops, culminating in harvest-time, and stock-breeders are tied to their cycle of migration (to and from summer and winter grazing). Half-yearly work cycles are more important than the four seasons: the summer, a period of action for farmers, stock-breeders, soldiers, merchants and pirates, and the winter, a time of preparation and waiting[11]. During these periods, there are important signs in the form of the great religious festivals, while the feasts of local saints and the major fairs of neighbouring towns and villages also play their part. Few people know about or are interested in dates as such (see below).

The rural world is aware of the passage of time and of time's structural and obligatory nature, but has no clocks or calendars[12]. Rural society does not possess the overall perception of time with which we are familiar today. The landmarks in the passage of life are chiefly the important changes in the individual's family circumstances and, to a lesser extent, in his social status: the beginning of work, marriage, the birth of children, acquisition of some valuable piece of property, loss of a loved one, natural disasters, wars and their consequences. These are the personal and meaningful signposts of time, those which the memory retains (embellishing them, with an emphasis on childhood, the most recent years and life's successes) in order to provide evidence, despite successive changes, for a sense of continuity, of identity.

Days, weeks, months and years: a series of overlapping cycles making up the calendar, which is a time-scale on which things may be recorded, checked or planned. Exact measurement of the cycles, faithful compliance with the time-scale, comprehension of the system: these things are beyond the daily needs and the ability of rural society. The calendar[13] is an urban

invention, a tool in the hands of the central administration, and the responsibility of the Church; it is the Church which gives time content, an image and a meaning (belief in the order of the world and in ultimate salvation) as well as elevating it to the status of life experience (rituals, feast days) and organising it —that is, measuring it and organising the way it is used (working days, holidays).

The ecclesiastical and liturgical year also consists of four cycles: the year (beginning on September 1), the week (beginning on Sunday), the day + night (beginning at sunset), and the movable Paschal cycle, with Easter Sunday at its centre. *"The liturgical year consists of the total number of the Church's...services dedicated to events in the lives of Christ and the Virgin Mary, to the angels, to the saints, to the universal or local manifestations of Divine Grace...; the services, particularly those of feast days, do not constitute a mere calendar of anniversaries. They provide the faithful with an opportunity to reconstruct the events, to experience them once more and afresh as theophany"* [14]. With feast days, the liturgical year endows the flow of daily life with diversity, as well as strengthening faith and reinforcing the bonds, the unity, of the community. It includes the patron saints of the community's possessions and activities, and feasts —particularly of Our Lady— which are connected with those possessions and activities: Our Lady *Myliargousa* (celebrated on 2 February, on the day of the Presentation in the Temple, when the mills are shut), Our Lady *Aposodeias* (on 8 September, the Nativity of the Virgin, when gathering in of the harvest is coming to an end), and Our Lady *Mesosporitissa* (21 November, the Presentation of the Virgin, which falls in the middle of the planting season).

The church itself provides an image of the liturgical year[15]. As a monument, it does not simply represent a *Weltanschaung*; it is at the same time an *"illustrated artistic calendar"* for the annual cycle, with the most important holidays and feasts (the feasts of Our Lord) *"all around the church"*, with *"the martyrdom of the whole year"* that is, all the days of the year with the saints and martyrs honoured on them, and for each single day, the shrine with the icons of the saints or feast day commemorated. The illustrations in the *menologia*, showing the figure and the martyrdom of each day's saint, present the year in greater detail. The menologia cover the immovable feasts in compositions covering each month, quarter or year[16]. The Church illustrated the saint's life on earth with a selection of scenes on the frame of his icon[17] or in the wall-paintings of his church, supplemented by readings from his *Life* in the monastery refectory or at other gatherings.

In the church, the passage of time is suggested by represention of the saints at different ages. The painters used the saint's hair and beard to signify changing age: he might be portrayed as a beardless youth, as a youth with an incipient or short beard, as a full-bearded young man, or as a long-bearded old man, as a bald or grey-haired old man, as a white bearded old man, as a man of very great age[18]. In church, the faithful experience the cycle of personal life in ceremonial form, with its rites of passage: baptism[19], marriage, funeral, memorial service. Lastly, the church provides, in pictorial form, an image of the seven ages of man in conjunction with the most basic elements in the calendar (the sun, the seasons, the signs of the zodiac, the months, the day and the night)[20]. The priest-monk Dionysios of Fournas (1670 - c. 1745) wrote:

"Draw a small circle and inside it draw an old man with a round beard [a representation of the Cosmos; the sun, its centre and regulator, is elsewhere]. Outside this first wheel draw a second, larger, wheel, and between the two wheels divide the space into four equal parts with a cross, and in each of these draw the four seasons of the year, Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter [each with its characteristic tasks]...And all around the second wheel on the outside...draw twelve houses and in them the signs of the zodiac for the twelve months..., clockwise, writing the name of each together with the names of the months, as follows: for Aries write 'March', at Taurus write 'April'...Outside the third and largest circle draw the seven ages of man...Write also these letters outside the wheel, near the mouths of the figures: at the first, that is, the infant, write 'Yea, when shall I rise to things above?' At the second, that is, the boy, write, 'Turn, O time, haste that I may rise up swiftly'. At the youth, write, 'Lo, I have come close to being seated on the throne'. At the young man, write 'For who is like unto me and who shall hold sway over me?' At the man of middle age, write 'And so, O time, I see that youth has passed'. At the old man, write 'Woe, woe, O death, for who can

escape thee?'. At the grave, write 'All-devouring Hades and Death'. And at the man being swallowed by the dragon, write 'Woe, and who shall save me from all-devouring death?'. To the right and the left on the wheel, draw two angels, wearing half-hour glasses upon their heads and turning the wheel with ropes, and by the angel upon the right write Day and by the angel on the left write Night, and above the wheel write this inscription: 'The vain life of this deceitful world' '' [21].

It is to the Church, above all, that we owe historical memory, in the form of its inscriptions, books, graffiti and mementoes of local history in its manuscripts and printed matter. The church —the monasteries, that is— both preserves the monuments of Memory (codices, books, treasures) and reproduces them (by copying the codices). It is the Church which shapes the image of memory and the overall concept of the history of the world. Genesis deals with the very beginnings, with cosmogony and cosmology: *''In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth''*. The duration of the past, in all is length, is organised by the succession of the generations: *''And Abraham begat Isaac, and Isaac begat Jacob, and Jacob begat Judah''*. Those few who were literate had access to a supplementary source: the chronicles[22]. The present was organised by the church calendar. At the centre of the linear concept of history (which existed in parallel to the cyclical, natural and liturgical concept) lay the Incarnation of Our Lord, the divine plan of the Word, and the year of our salvation encountered, *inter alia*, as a way of dating manuscripts. Everything before was sin, everything since has been part of the progress towards Salvation. That progress, *''a narrow way, and sad''* is interrupted by death: this *''present life of grief and weeping while that to come is a life of laughter and joy''*. Time begins with the Creation of the world and ends with the Second Coming.

Dating 'from the creation of the world' was the province of the literate few[23], of those who composed documents and inscriptions, those who wrote notes and commemorations in ecclesiastical books, those who copied the codices.

''In the year 7130 on the 8th of the month of June the monastery was burned at dawn on Saturday, two hours before it was light, the day before Pentecost Sunday'', says the Simonopetra Codex A (p. 14) of the fire which gutted the monastery in 1622. This was an event of particular importance for the life of the Monastery and in order to leave no doubt as to the date of its occurrence the scribe supplied all the possible evidence: the year since the creation of the world (7130), the month, the date and the day of the week, the exact hour in relation to the nearest important point in the day/night cycle (daybreak) and the proximity to the great feast of the following day, Pentecost Sunday[24].

Knowledge of the calendar and the ability to measure time by day and night are fundamental requirements for worship. The calculation of the dates of Easter and the other movable feasts was one of the main tasks of the clergy, who were liable 'to lose the place' if deprived of their *paschalia,* the tables of Easter dates formerly preserved in wall-paintings such as those of St Demetrius in Thessaloniki[25] and latterly in certain ecclesiastical books[26]. During the course of the day and night, the monasteries measure time in order to regulate with accuracy the 'hours' of worship and also the hours for work, food and rest: the proper use of God's property, time. Byzantine monks used solar clocks and water clocks to give the pace to the *semantra* and bells which, in turn, signalled the passing hours to the holy communities and the areas which surrounded them. The accuracy obtained by these means was relative, but adequate: *''as long as there is one source of information about time which everyone accepts, accuracy is of little account; the time is that which it is announced as being''*[27]. Water clocks were of great importance, as we can see in the phrase which Savas, Abbot of Patmos (fl. 1119-1127/28) added at the end of his will: *''Since the bronze timepiece of the day and night escaped our attention and was not set down in the correct order, we hereby make mention of it here''*[28]. Those who did not possess such 'timepieces' were forced to employ other methods, which allowed measurement of a kind that ensured relatively close approximation: *Another question from the same monk to the same Abbot: Father, since you have said that I must stand vigil six hours, how shall I know that I have stood vigil six hours? Answer: If you wish to know the hours with accuracy, you must sleep one day to counter the deprivation of the body, and stand vigil for one night, from sunset until dawn, and count the number of lines you have*

Fig. 3 View of the Holy Mountain from the West. Montfaucon, Palaeographia Graeca, Paris 1708, p. 451. (Proskynitarion..., Ioannis Komninos, 1701) (pp. 73, 237, 251).

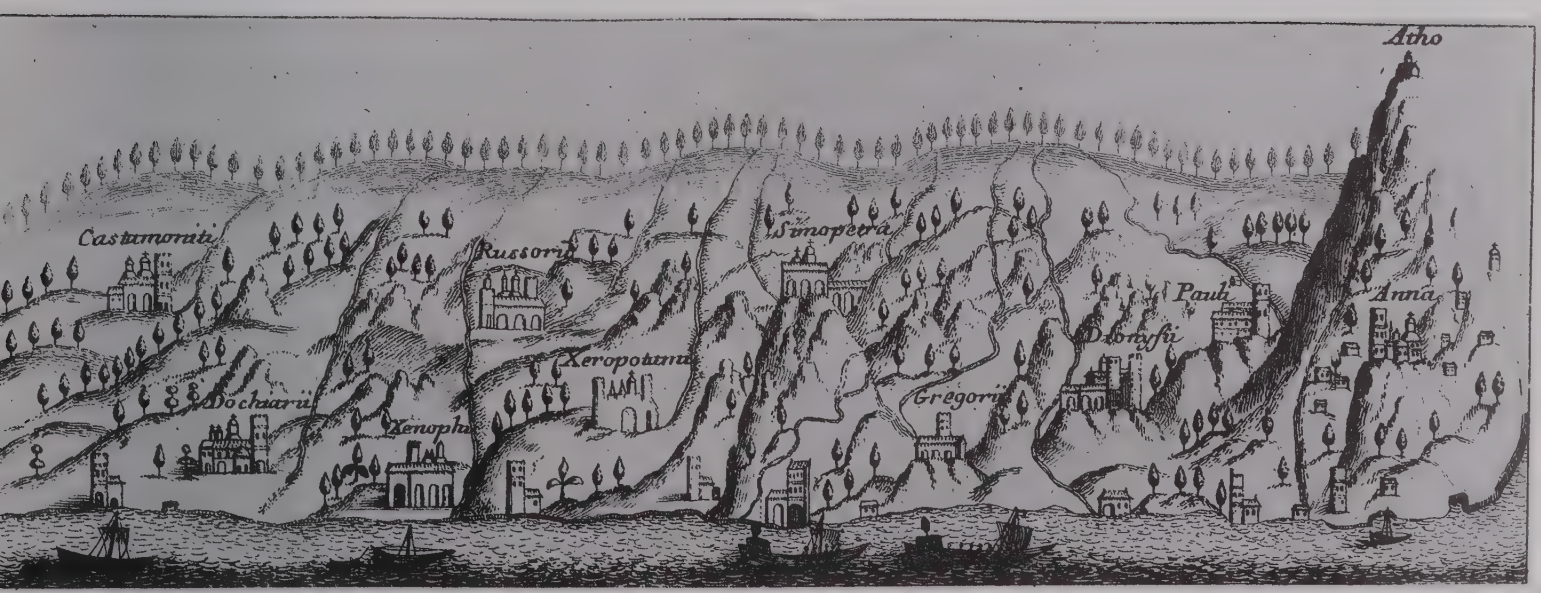


Fig. 4 The Holy Mountain on a wooden die for the printing of shrouds (340 x 385 x 028) (pp. 74, 75).

Fig. 6 The Holy Mountain. The Monasteries of Simonopetra, Gregoriou and Dionysiou. Woodcut. Late 17th - early 18th century (385 x 265). Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade (pp. 237, 251).

Fig. 7 Simonopetra. Drawing by Vasilij Barskij. 1744 (pp. 75, 77, 79, 84, 111, 251).

Fig. 5 Amalgamation of two views of the Holy Mountain. Copper engraving. Early 19th century. [Mt Athos] (271 x 358) (pp. 73, 74, 220).

С ГРИГОРИА
С ДІОНИС

Μοναστήριον τῆς ὑπεραγίας
ἐζωγράφιθη ἀπὸ τὸ ἀναλωμάτων
τῆ μεσημβρινοῦ μέρο τοῦ
1744.
μοναστήρια τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους

Fig. 8 Simonopetra and scenes from the life of St Simon. Copper engraving. 1868. Engraver: Ioannis Kaldis of Lesvos (785 x 575) (pp. 75, 84, 245).

Fig. 9 Simonopetra. Copper engraving. 1870. Engraver: Ioannis Kaldis (430 x 323) (pp. 75, 245).

Fig. 10 Simonopetra. Etching. 1849. R. Curzon, Visits to Monasteries in the Levant (190 x 115) (pp. 79, 252).

read in this time. If you then divide the number of lines by twelve, you will then know with exactitude. Do the same again in the summer, and the hours will become clear to you'' [29].

As the Byzantine Empire waned, in the West 'monk's time' was beginning to be replaced by 'merchant's time'. The introduction of the clockwork timepiece, which first appeared in the 14th century, imposed a new concept of time: linear, unvarying in its pace, constant, compulsory, exact and abstract (that is, unconnected to the natural and biological rhythms of the world). It also moulded a new common language and a common yardstick, new mental attitudes: obedience to the (new) time, accuracy, speed, effectiveness, productivity, performance, profit, the constant raising of all of these and an orientation towards the future —in other words, a different concept of life[30]. Clocks contributed to shaping the new concept of time as maps did to the new concept of space: both time and space were now seen as constant magnitudes which could be measured and exploited. Motives and aspirations changed, and with them the meaning of life.

By the end of the 15th century, all the large churches of the West and their bell-towers had clocks operated by weights. During the 16th century, the use of clocks became more widespread in the urban sections of the populace. Of course, country areas and the periphery in the broad sense of the term maintained their own rural and functional relationship with time for centuries afterwards. Indeed, even 'merchants's time', that which the clocks showed, retained for a very long period many of the features of qualitative time: it relied for adjustment on water clocks and solar clocks, it was acoustic and only relatively exact (in 1675 an accuracy of ± 5 per 24 hours was attained, and the use of seconds was introduced in 1690), and it was local because it was only applicable within sight of the clock face or earshot of the bells[31]. It is to this transitional phase that the large clockwork timepieces which began appearing in Orthodox monasteries in the 18th century belong.

References to the technical equipment by which time was measured and to the use, construction, repair and selling of clocks in modern Greece are few and sporadic. Most of the clocks sold went to monasteries; towns and prosperous burghers were less frequent customers. Right from the start, and everywhere, clocks were for show as well as for use, works of art as well as pieces of machinery.

The earliest mention of a large clockwork timepiece on Mt Athos is to the Iveron Monastery, an abundantly admiring description of whose clock is to be found in the deacon Ignatios Kemizos' edition of the *Proskynitarion* of Ioannis Komninos (Venice 1745): *''To the right-hand extremity of the chapel of St Nicholas which we have been discussing is attached a tall, skilfully-wrought tower, within which is a wonderful clock with one large bell and four smaller ones; of these, the large bell is to strike the hours and the smaller bells to strike the quarters; and at each quarter that those bells strike there is a wooden black man ready on the outside of the tower, with a hammer in his right hand and a kondio [struck bell] in his left, and as soon as the bells cease he clashes the hammer on the kondio, which is a truly artful and fascinating sight; and inside the tower there are cells set there for that purpose and the monks who serve the church reside therein that they may be under the clock and perform all the needful things at the appointed hour''* [32].

In the same year, the Vatopedi Monastery had a *''large timepiece near the narthex of the catechumens, in a high tower''* [33]. In April 1745, Vatopedi dispatched the priest-monk Athanasios to Venice *''to collect alms and assistance''*. His instructions were *''with the money collected... to purchase a large iron clock such as those which it is the custom here [i.e., in Venice] to instal in the belfries, of which the above monastery is seriously in need, and the clock is to be purchased... and sent to the said monastery''* [34]. These two pioneer monasteries were followed, as can be seen from the 'paper icons' (= engravings), by the monasteries of Dionysiou (1754), Docheiariou (1779), Aghiou Pavlou (1798), Zographou (1802), Megiste Laura (?) (1810 and 1868), Stavroniketa (1817), Xenophontos (1833), Koutloumousiou (mid 19th century) and Esphigmenou (1881)[35]. Copper engravings provide evidence that other large monasteries outside Mt Athos also had clocks: John the Baptist at Serres (1761)[36], Rila in Bulgaria (1836), St Savas in Palestine (1847), Our Lady of Tenos (1860), and the Dormition

of the Virgin on Hydra (1878)[37]. These large clockwork timepieces were linked to the bells in order to increase, by sound, the range over which they could be used and their accuracy was monitored with water clocks. The water clocks in turn were checked against solar clocks. The engravings often mark 'the horologion' as an element of importance in the monastery's fittings and for its prestige. It is typical of the monastic need to be able to determine the time with accuracy that an engraving of the Megalou Spilaiou Monastery shows the peak of the mountain *"where is the large stone with a hole for the rays of the sun at the equinox to pass through and its diameter [? or διά μέτρον, as a measure]"*, and, in another engraving, the *"single stone which indicates the vernal equinox"* [38].

Where the monastery bell-tower did not contain one of these large clockwork timepieces, the life of the community was regulated by clocks with weights or pendulums or by portable timepieces. In 1867, the Monastery of St John the Divine on Patmos acquired a large clock which it had bought second-hand in Constantinople, as can be seen from the instruction which accompanied it[39], and it is still there today, in the exonarthex of the *katholikon*. In the case of Simonopetra, the inventory of 1796 mentions *"three clocks"* in the sacristy (Codex B, p. 68), and the inventory of 1805 refers to *"two wall clocks"* in the same place (p. 76) together with *"an English clock in the Church"* (p. 77). The *"Catalogue of Items consumed in the Fire"* includes *"2 large clocks, one of them instrumental (with music)"* (p. 121), and the *Copy of the Report of the Holy Community concerning the Fire* echoes this with *"two large Clocks, of which one played a short piece of music"* (p. 275). Individuals, too —including the clergy and monks— displayed an interest in possessing timepieces. In the copy of his will (1795), Ioakeim, formerly Bishop of Korytsa, lists among his possessions *"...both silverware and cross, and copperware and my clothing..."* (Codex A, p. 93), and on Mt Sinai there is *"a cross for the blessing of water from Transylvania, which combines Orthodox tradition with the innovation of the measurement of time in a valuable portable clock"* on its base, belonging to Abbot Ioasaph (1617-1660)[40]. This is the earliest clock known to have survived in an Orthodox monastery.

The use of large clockwork timepieces in the major urban centres was, as far as we can tell from the very limited information known to us today, much more limited than in the monasteries, but it began at an earlier date. There was a tower with a clock in Philippoupolis in 1665, Serres had one at about the same time (see below), and Drama had a clock in 1699. In 1715, Larisa had a clock in a wooden tower, while that at Yannitsa was in as stone-built tower with an inscription[41]. Yannina acquired its clock early in the 19th century, and later during that century there were clock-towers in Komotini, Didymoteicho, Kozani and Grevena. The traveller Robert de Dreux has left an interesting description of public clocks in the Ottoman Empire —a description which demonstrates how powerful the concept of natural time still was:

"...but what struck me as most admirable of all in the town of Serres was that in the centre is a large bell-tower like a square tower, containing a large bell which strikes the hours in the French manner. This is truly impressive, since throughout Turkey there is not one public clock, because the Turks count time not as we do, beginning at midnight, but after the manner of the Italians, who begin by counting the first hour at sunset and thus move their first hour forward or back as the sun sets earlier or later" [42].

"I was told that a Sultan had prohibited the use of public clocks, and when the inhabitants of certain towns which had been conquered most humbly begged him to allow them one clock, at least, he asked for what purpose they intended to use it. And they replied that they needed the clock so that they would know better what time to pray, to drink, to eat, to get up or to go to bed. And he replied that they ought to pray to God whenever they had the chance, and that the daylight tells us when to get up, the night when to go to bed, our hunger and thirst when to eat and drink, and that there was no need for a clock to tell us these things. And this prohibition on bells and public clocks is enforced with such severity in all Turkey that, in the four years I resided there and on all my journeys, to a total of some 300 leagues within that country, I saw no other clock than that at Serres. And I wondered, upon hearing that clock, which is so large it can be heard all over the town, and I asked where it had come from, but I succeeded only in discovering that the clock has been striking in this manner since very long ago in the past" [43].

In the late 18th century, Beaujour describes clock-selling as an extremely profitable business: 360 clocks were sold in Thessaloniki each year, and as many more in the Peloponnese. His statement that in Greece *"they know nothing of the solar clock or the public clock"* may be an exaggeration, but it does demonstrate the limited number of such timepieces[44]. In Κερδῷος Ἑρμῆς (1815), N. Papadopoulos gives a fuller picture of clock-making and clock-selling during the 19th century:

"It is only in Turkey that this craft is entirely absent, with the exception of certain monks on Mt Athos, who make solid pendulum clocks to strike the hours and alarm clocks. All the other craftsmen in the cities are repair men[45] *and not clockmakers, and so we are compelled to import them from Europe. The Ottomans approve of English clocks, which are produced with the hours in Arabic numerals for this purpose, while other people prefer the clocks of Paris or Geneva, many of which show the seconds, and the days of the month, and of the week. From the point of view of exactness of craftsmanship, the English clocks are superior".*

When Papadopoulos moves on to a description of solar clocks, he can seen to be a supporter of the old method of approximate measurement of time rather than of the new techniques. Inadequate technology and a still almost natural concept of time go hand in hand[46]:

"Solar clocks: These clocks may be said to be the most accurate in time-keeping because of the accuracy of the sun's own movement as its shadow marks the hours. Water clocks freeze up, and the water does not always flow in the same quantities; similarly with hour-glasses, the mouth of the glass widens imperceptibly day by day, though it be of the hardest diamond; and clockwork timepieces have much scope for error in the means which drive them and the parts which are driven; but the bright sun always revolves at the same, equal und unchanging velocity as ordered by the All-Wise Creator" [47].

The requirements of towns, monasteries and seamen were still met up to the early 19th century by the traditional means: hour-glasses, water clocks[48] and solar clocks, all of which were needed to regulate the accuracy of the time shown by clockwork timepieces until the use of reliable watches became widespread.

This brief survey of a subject which has been very little studied demonstrates the significance of time for the monasteries, and the important position occupied by Mt Athos in the technical history of modern Greece[49]. It has also shown how limited was the use of large clockwork timepieces in the major urban centres of the 17th to 19th centuries. Natural time survived in the daily practices and in the mentalities of people everywhere, not just of those in rural society.

Landmarks, yardsticks, representations of time, the concept of historical time and the relationship with death: all these elements make up and determine the way of everyday life in the outside world and —in a different manner— in the monastery. The monastic community lives principally within the time of worship and of the history of the monastery; it is very strongly conscious of its continuity. The ceremony of tonsuring marks the transition from the outside world to the world inside[50]. Services, vigils, feast days, the founder's day, and —above all— Easter: these ceremonies in the overlapping liturgical cycles of the year transform everyday life[51], bring climaxes of intensity in the way it is experienced, stress the formality of practices, relationships and institutions, and alter the quality of time.

"At any visitor's first entry into a monastery, time seems to stand still. If one spends a week in one or a month, a different scale and pattern of time imposes itself, which at first one resists as if one were in prison. When this new time-scale is accepted, it soaks into one's bones and penetrates one's mind. It has nothing to do with death or eternity, but it involves a tranquil, unhurried, absolutely dominating rhythm. This specially undisturbed yet specially rhythmical sense of time is the greatest difference between monastic life and any other. Beyond the rhythm of days is the underlying rhythm of seasons and festivals. The liturgy sets the pace: above all, the night hours and early morning hours" [52].

Inside the monastery seen as an ideal state (see p. 74), the church is a symbol of the real world, a living image of the Kingdom of Heaven. Divine service provides access to that Kingdom. Divine service is a ritual[53]. It is also a holiday, an outlet from the reality of work,

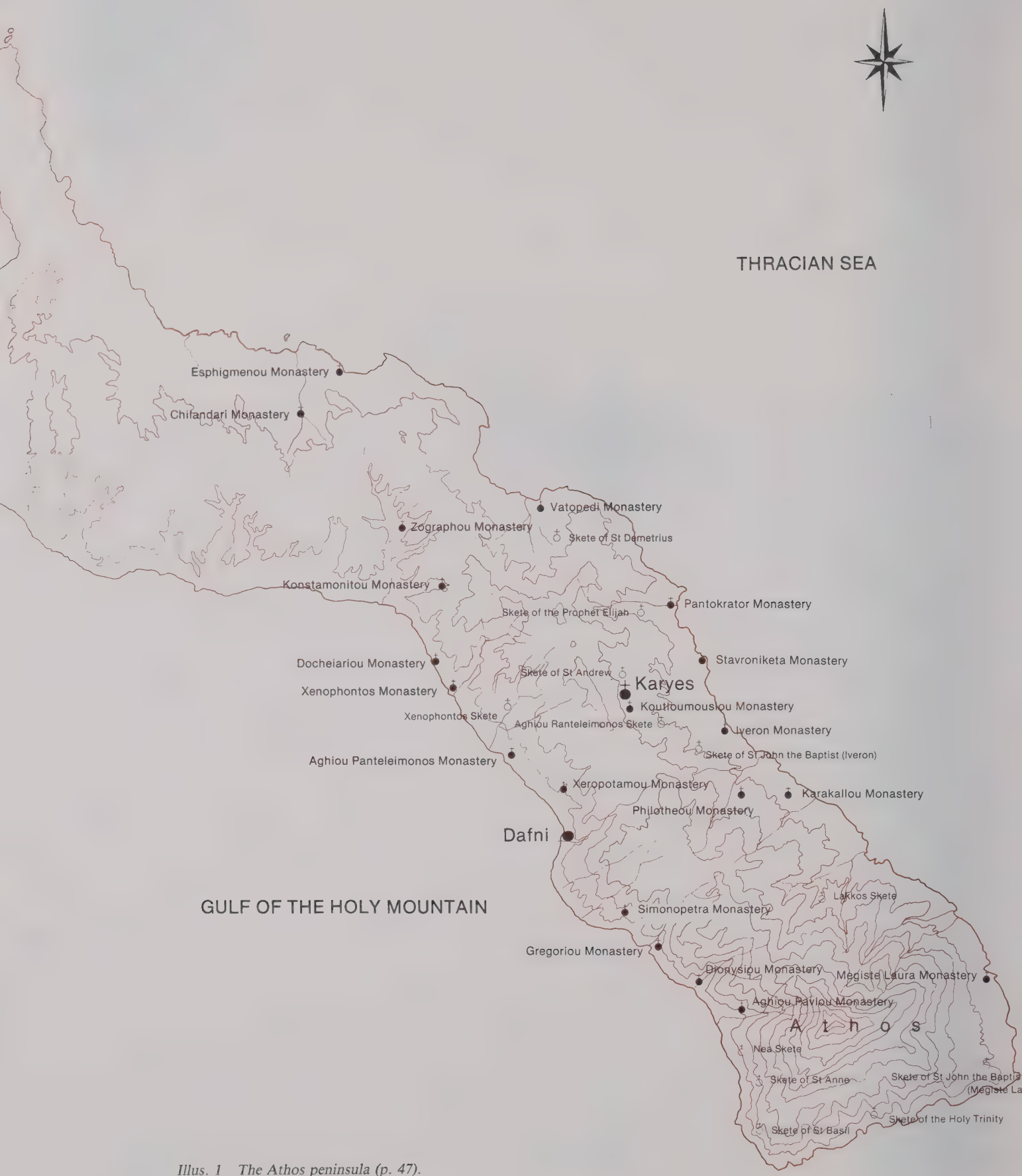
Fig. 10a *The Second Coming. Copper engraving. 1820. Engraved by Parthenios Zakynthios (560 x 800) (pp. 45, 76).*

a shift from the empirical world to the world of symbolism. It is a spectacle, a representation of the holy traditions, a common experiencing of the events which take place; it is praise of God and the Church (as tradition and as congregation). It is communication with God and it is communion: *"Take, eat; this is my body... Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins"* (Matthew 26: 26-28). It is *exstasis,* a 'standing outside', it is the different relationship between the monk and the world and his surroundings; it is a transient, paradoxical, certain and ineffable stance outside the world:

"I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago (whether in the body I cannot tell; or whether out of the body I cannot tell: God knoweth;) such a one caught up to the third heaven. And I knew such a man (whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;). How that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter" (II Corinthians 12: 2-4).

Close to the monastery and far from the places where the monks work is the cemetery, an intermediate space and time awaiting the Second Coming (fig. 10a). Its position is carefully noted on all the engravings. Its sanctity is established by its church and marked out by its precinct —and by its crosses. This is the place where 'the multitude of souls' is to be found; this is the location of the Church Invisible, the Church Triumphant. The funeral, the memorial services, almsgiving, dedications, interment close to the monastery, near the church and side-by-side with the sleeping brethren—all these serve memory, continuity, the transcendence of the fear of death, the boundaries of personal space and time. There, the only expectation is of Resurrection.

The monastery is a world outside the world.



Illus. 1 The Athos peninsula (p. 47).

SPACE

The Natural Environment

D. Kotoulas

Of the three promontories in which Halkidiki terminates, Mt Athos is the most interesting. It has a natural landscape of exciting beauty, thanks to the variety of its relief, the wealth and density of its vegetation and the proximity of the sea.

Mt Athos, which under the Greek Constitution is a self-governing part of the Greek state, is elongated in shape (length 57 km, width 7-10 km). It runs roughly NW-SE, and has a total area of 336 sq. km. The length of its coastline is 112 km. The geographical boundary between Mt Athos and the body of Halkidiki runs from Ierissos Bay (part of the Strymonic Gulf) to Trypiti Bay (Syngitic Gulf), but the administrative border between the Prefecture of Halkidiki and the Monastic State of Mt Athos lies further south, following an imaginary line from Ierissos Bay to Cape Prosfori through the Megali Vigla mountain range.

The Simonopetra area is part of the Mt Athos promontory. It lies in the lower part of the south-west side and is washed by the waters of the Syngitic Gulf. The Monastery is set in an oval-shaped area of 13 sq. km, with 4.8 km of coastline.

As a result of its position on the promontory, the natural surroundings of the Simonopetra area are directly influenced by the more general natural environment of Mt Athos, whose unique beauty has been praised by many. Thus a description of the area surrounding the Monastery is possible only in relation to the natural context of Mt Athos as a whole.

The general natural environment of Mt Athos —and so of the Simonopetra area— consists of five main natural elements: the relief, the climate, the geological support (rock formations, soil), the vegetation and the fauna.

The *relief* of Mt Athos takes the following shape: on the northern boundaries, Megali Vigla (510 m) rises at right angles to the lie of the promontory, thus acting as a natural wall preventing access to the sacred area. This is followed by a low and undulating range of hills running down the spine of the promontory, gradually gaining in height to the SW and, near the centre, rising into a mountain range with an altitude of between 450 and 900 m (illus. 1). At the southern tip of the promontory (the 'head' of the Holy Mountain) is a natural, rocky, pyramidal prominence - Mt Athos, with a height of 2,033 m and steep sides which plunge sharply into the sea. Some 4/5 of the total area of Mt Athos lies at an altitude of less than 500 m, and the areas whose altitude is greater than 1000 m account for only 3.5% of the total.

Ranges of hills and mountains rear their heads along the central axis of the promontory, dividing the surface of Mt Athos into a SW flank, facing the Syngitic Gulf, and a NE side washed by the Thracian Sea.

The area of the Holy Monastery of Simonopetra (illus. 2) lies on the side of the Athonite promontory, near the shores of the Syngitic Gulf, close to the NW foothills of Athos itself. The maximum altitude of the Monastery's possessions is 889 m; the average altitude is 449 m and the average gradient of the ground is 29.32%. In general, the land lies to the SW —facing the promontory of Sithonia, that is. Because of the extremely undulating terrain, the orientation of its various parts veers between west and south. The Simonopetra area lies mostly at a

considerable altitude above sea level: only 27.36% of the total area lies below 300 m, while 72.7% of the area is above 300 m. This, in conjunction with the steep gradients and the complete lack of flat places, makes Simonopetra a semi-mountainous area. The Simonopetra possessions are crossed by a number of small torrents, which rise on the NE edge of the area (along the spine of the mountains), run through the ground channels they have cut and flow into the sea. The most important of these streams are those known as Dafnaras, Kokkinos, Sanida and Monis Simonos, which have a little running water even in the summer. In addition, there are the Sanida and Bousdoumi springs, and the Aqueduct spring which supplies the Monastery's drinking water.

The *climate* of Mt Athos has never been studied. The scanty figures which are available show the following.

In the low (up to 400-450 m) and hilly regions, which account for 70% of the total surface area of Mt Athos, the climate is Mediterranean, temperate and with intermediate rainfall (Moulopoulos, 1963). In the higher (450-1000 m) and semi-mountainous zone, the rainfall increases and snow becomes more frequent, while there is a drop in the air temperature and a rise in the number of days of frost and the air humidity. Thus the climate becomes colder and damper. As we approach the summit of Mt Athos (1000-2000 m) the climate becomes significantly harsher. Snow lies on the ground for several months and very often lingers on into the summer.

Mt Athos is subject to strong northerly and north easterly winds, which sweep across the dorsal ridge of the promontory and the pyramidal shape of Athos. On the lee side of the ridge, as the winds descend, they pick up great speed and, when deflected off outcrops of rock or stream-beds, begin to swirl, setting up in the sea the violent and intersecting wave formations which were known even in antiquity; it was these waves which forced Xerxes to abandon his idea of circumnavigating Mt Athos when he invaded Greece and, instead, to dig the famous canal across its neck.

The Simonopetra area is part of the general climatic framework of Mt Athos, although it is particularly influenced by the climatic conditions on the south eastern side of the promontory and by the range of altitudes which it occupies. To date, no meteorological observations have been made, but the climate can be sketched with reference to the general particulars available (Moulopoulos, 1963).

In the lower part of the area (up to 400 m), the climate is mild, with the following approximate annual mean values: rainfall 600 mm, air temperature 17^{0}C, humidity 70%, cloud cover 35%, hours of sunshine 2,800. In the higher part of the area (500-880 m) the climatic conditions are rather harsher: rainfall and snowfall increase (700-750 mm), as does the humidity (72%), while air temperature drops (16^{0}C) and frost is both more frequent and longer lasting. Intermediate climatic conditions are found in the intervening area. Strong catabatic winds are a feature of the whole area.

From the point of view of *geological support,* Mt Athos consists of metamorphic rocks, which form the body of the promontory in a number of alternating varieties (gneiss, mica, schist, chlorite schist, etc.), and of sedimentary rocks, such as limestone (marble), which constitute the bulk of the peak of Athos. Less frequent are amphibolite and argillaceous schists, granite and serpentine. In general, these are durable rocks which resist the development of erosion, weathering, or landslides —that is, which do not facilitate the development of torrents.

The terrain which has evolved above these rocks belongs to the Mediterranean forest type; if such terrain is not eroded, it is suitable for the development of forest vegetation and, in particular, of woodland.

The rocks in the Monastery area are principally metamorphic. In the upper part of the area we find mica-schist, above which the soil is deep, cool and rich in clay. The dominant rock in the lower part is gneiss, and the soil is of medium depth and sandy. There is a high gravel content and the soil is of limited fertility.

The geographical isolation and inaccessibility of the area, the favourable climatic and soil conditions and the absence of adverse anthropogenic factors (flocks of sheep and goats, land clearing, division into building plots, etc.) mean that Mt Athos has varied and very dense vegetation, which covers almost the entire surface of the area: the forest coverage is 90.25% (Moulopoulos, 1963).

Fig. 11 The Holy Mountain, monasteries and patron saints. Mural 1866. Romanian skete (p. 74).

Fig. 12 Simonopetra "on satin in silk", the work of Dorothea M. Tsardaka of Krini. 1907 (p. 219).

ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ
ΟΙΚΑΜΑΡΕΣ ΤΥΠΙΕΡΥ
ΤΟΥ ΧΑΛΚΙΑΔΕΩΝ
ΟΡΜΗΣ
ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΤΑΡΙ
ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΘΕΟΛΟ
ΟΑΡΣΑΝΑΣ

Fig. 13 Copper plate. Central section, with a depiction of Simonopetra. 1868 (see: whole plate fig. 8).

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Fig. 14 "A Map showing the Boundaries of our House at Dontas, St Nicholas". Watercolour. Second half of the 19th century (685 x 1,035) (pp. 63, 75).

Fig. 15 Map of the Simonopetra area. Watercolour. 1878 (745 x 970) (p. 75).

Fig. 16 Map of the metochi of Sykia, Halkidiki. Watercolour. Mid 19th century (pp. 63, 75, 76, 112).

Fig. 17 *The debit seal of Simonopetra with the Monastery's representation. 1848 (p. 247).*

Fig. 18 *The small round seal of Simonopetra with Russian inscriptio End of the 19th century (p. 247).*

The *vegetation* of Mt Athos consists of 1,402 plants (1,118 species, 90 sub-species and 194 varieties and forms), of which 220 are of medicinal use, while there are 35 endemic plants, such as the Athos viola (Ganiatsas, 1963). The ligneous trees of the highest incidence are the chestnut, the fir, the beech, the pine (black pine and Aleppo pine), the holm oak and the kermes oak.

The distribution of the vegetation of Mt Athos is articulated as follows: the coastal zone, dominated by mosses, the zone of deciduous species (up 500-550 m), where the vegetation consists mostly of bushes and the most frequent species are the kermes oak and holm oak, the oak zone (500-600 m), consisting largely of forest oaks with isolated specimens of holm oak and maple, the high forest zone (600-1550 m), where the principal species are the chestnut and the fir (this, for example, is the area occupied by the 'sacred forest') and, lastly, the alpine zone (over 1550 m) consisting once more mainly of mosses and containing most of the endemic species.

The forests of Mt Athos belong to the monasteries there, which devote themselves with loving and prudent care to their management. Mt Athos is famous for its chestnut forests (grown from shoots), the technique of cultivating which has been practised by the monks for many years; in 1932, the Academy of Athens awarded the Holy Community of Mt Athos a special commendation for this technique.

The forests of Simonopetra Monastery are typical of the flora and vegetation of Mt Athos. They have a total area of 906.1 hectares, thus covering 70% of the total area of the Monastery lands (1303.8 hectares). The forests are divided into seven management classes, depending on the forestry species grown, which are chestnut, oak, fir, beech, aspen, and the broad-leaved evergreens. Of the remaining 30% of the Monastery's land, 153.8 hectares consists of unproductive features such as river-beds, rocks, roads, etc., 184.3 hectares are covered with bushes and are not suitable for cultivation, and 54.6 hectares are occupied by farm crops. It follows that forestry is the main form of exploitation of the land in the Monastery properties. However, these forests also have beneficial protective and hydrological effects (preventing erosion, increasing reserves of subterranean water and springs, reducing flood discharge), as well as cleaning the atmosphere and improving the aesthetic appearance of the area.

The natural *fauna* of Mt Athos has never been studied. However, it does not differ from that of the rest of Greece and consists largely of seasonal visitors rather than permanent residents. There is a variety of reptiles, such as snakes (adders, house-snakes, tree-snakes), tortoises, lizards, etc; the bird population includes woodpeckers, partridges, owls, hawks, eagles, cuckoos, wood pigeons, and hoopooes, while among the mammals there are wolves, stoats, foxes, hares, jackals, wild boar, and squirrels. The insect population is extensive. The Simonopetra Monastery area contains the same fauna as the rest of Mt Athos.

The hilly, semi-mountainous terrain, with the natural 'horn' of Mt Athos as its crowning glory, the generally mild climate in conjunction with the harsher climatic conditions in the higher areas, the variety of rock formations, the abundant vegetation with its wealth of species and riotous colour, the rich fauna to be found on Mt Athos and in the sea which surrounds it on three sides —all these factors make up a natural environment of exciting beauty, ideal for solitude and spiritual elevation and most suitable for the monastic life.

The steep slopes, the deep gorges, the tall cliffs and the outcrops of rock, the shades of green of the vegetation, changing in autumn to variations of yellow and russet, the bare boughs of the trees in winter, the deep or light azure of the sea —these all ease the eye; the roaring of the gales, the lapping of the waves, and the cries of birds delight the ear, and the sweetness of the natural aromas and the fresh air make glad the visitor's sense of smell. All together, these features make up the incomparable natural harmony of Mt Athos, to which the lissom cypresses around the monasteries and along the stream beds add a note of austere gravity, sanctity and peaceful melancholy. The grandeur of the physical environment is the natural background in which the monks of Mt Athos, guardians of the ancient institutions of Orthodoxy and the Greek race, root their mystic life and spiritual presence.

Space

S. Papadopoulos

"Every civilisation, however humble it may be, presents itself in two main aspects; in the first, it is within the world, and in the second, it is itself a world. To be in the world means, first of all, that it has a place in time and space. Then it means incorporation into the natural environment"[1].

The monastery is a world inside the world.

The activities of the brethren defined the maximum area on which the Monastery was dependent and in which it was known; these activities were continuous when the generosity of the faithful allowed the foundation to set up *metochia* (Bucharest), or of a temporary nature, as when difficult conditions obliged the monks to set out on journeys to collect funds (Russia). This wider —and primarily Orthodox— area provided the financial support which made possible the ambitious programmes of building (construction, reconstruction, extension) and the acquisition of significant works of art to decorate the monastery. These important works of art —and the numerous second-rate works which accompany them— demonstrated the Monastery's prestige and were evidence of its good taste, of its integration into the artistic trends of the time —into current fashion[2]. Another network of administrative, spiritual, economic and artistic relationships covered the nearby urban centres of the Ottoman Empire: Constantinople (seat of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the secular authorities), Varna, Adrianople, Philippoupolis, Thessaloniki, Belgrade and 'renowned Smyrna'. The Monastery's metochia (see p. 112) represented within this network the areas of vital importance from which the monastery drew its labourers, its craftsmen, its benefactors, its pilgrims, its suppliers with merchandise, its creditors —and even its monks. Commodities, votive offerings, letters, receipts, publications, men of letters and bishops all linked the 'outside world' with the 'inside world' of Mt Athos itself. A still smaller space, but one in which movement to and fro was much more frequent, was that of the merchants who supplied the Monastery with the goods it required but could not produce itself. These merchants came by caique from Halkidiki, Thessaloniki and other parts, landing at the *arsanas,* or went up to Karyes from Dafni for the 'Saturday market'; each year, at the time of the fortnight-long fair of the Dormition of the Virgin (10-25 August) at Karyes, they would travel from much further away.

Last —but most important of all— was the closed world of the monastic state of Mt Athos, of which the area of the Monastery constitutes a part.

As reported by the *Life* of its founder, selection of the site on which the Monastery was built was determined by the nature of the space itself (the cave and the *"steep and hazardous landscape"*) and by the exceptional signs (theophany) which led to it and made possible the completion of its buildings (miracles while the Monastery was being constructed). The foundation of the Monastery sanctified the site[3], and the founder gave his name to the buildings and the surrounding area, providing the brethren with their monastic and secular identity.

"And it was then the time", the Saint's biographer tells us, *"when the feast of the Birth of Our Saviour Jesus Christ was drawing nigh, and one night, emerging from the cave, he saw a fearful sight: it seemed to him that a star had been sundered from the heavens and was hovering above the rock hard over against him, where the sacred Monastery now stands; and the Saint saw this vision for many nights, but, as we have said, he was sore afraid lest it be some ruse of the Enemy; nonetheless, the very night of the Birth of Christ came, and then not only did he see that the star had descended from on high and was standing over that rock, facing him; but he also heard the divine voice, saying, 'On this rock, O Simon, shalt thou found thy coenobium, and save souls...; see, and do not question' "*[4].

Each community uses and diversifies its environment in accordance with its needs (security, food supply, etc.), with its own capacity, and with the scope provided by the space itself

Fig. 19 *The skete of St Panteleimon of the Koutloumousiou Monastery. Part of a copper engraving. Athos. 1810 (p. 74).*

Fig. 20 *Garden, mill and chapel. Part of a copper engraving of the Pantokrator Monastery. Athos. Mid 19th century (p. 74).*

Fig. 21 *Garden. Detail from a copper engraving of the Monastery of St Anastasia, Halkidiki. Karyes, Athos. 1893 (p. 74).*

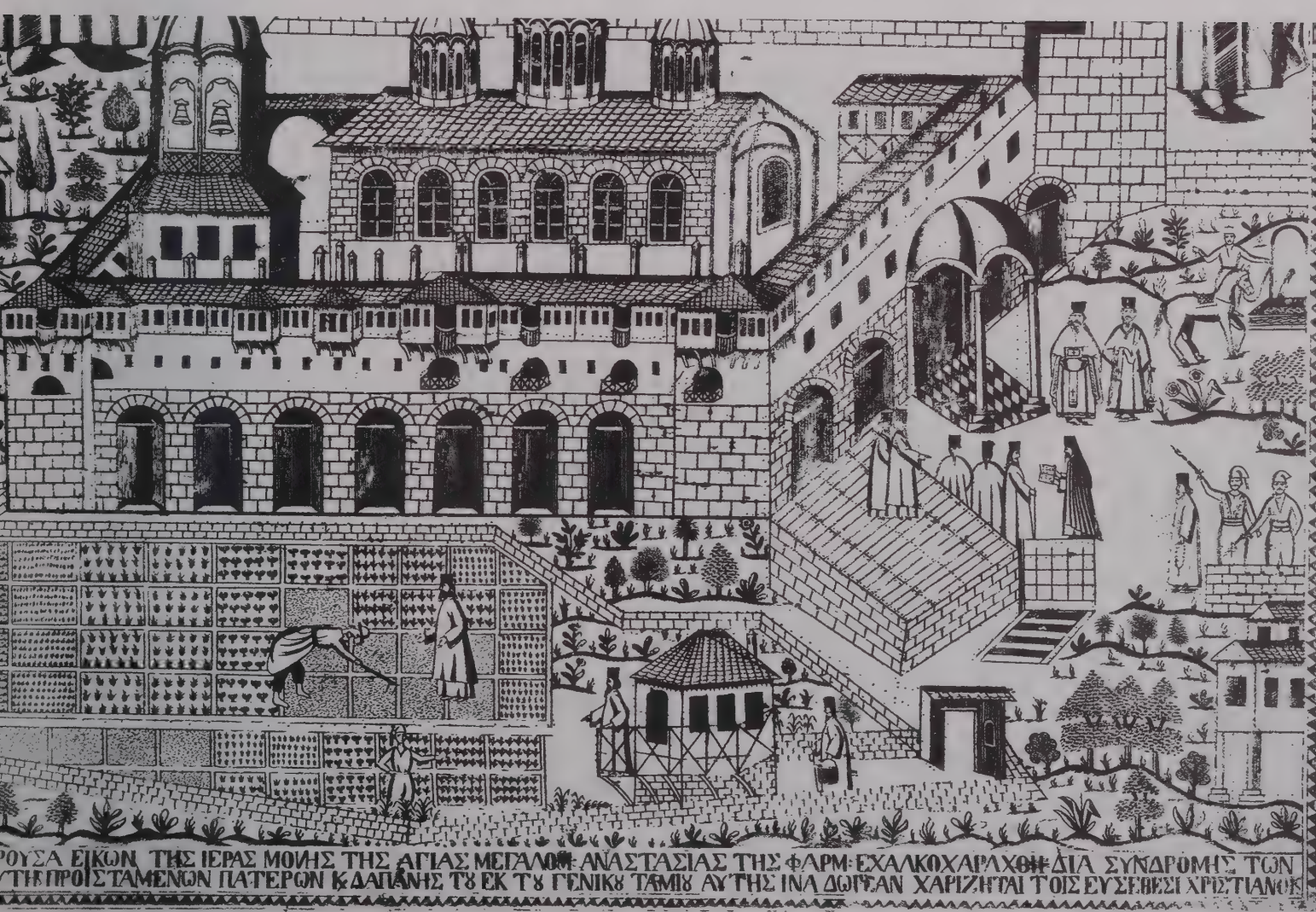


Fig. 22 *Arsanas and magazi (=storehouse). Detail from a copper engraving of the Philotheou Monastery. Athos. 1841 (p. 74).*

(sources of energy, land suitable for farming). Use of space means knowledge and organisation of it, it means the application of a conception of the world; and above all it means that the space must be acquired and safeguarded, that there is a specific policy to preserve land and extend it. Monasticism, which developed in rural areas and relied on the earth, the true and —at that time— the only source of wealth, applied such a policy systematically and effectively. The reputed second founder, Ioannis Uglješa, made a dual contribution to the revival of the Monastery, in that the brethren who would live in the reconstructed foundation would have been unable to survive without lands: *"And"*, he wrote, *"I have sent Dominus Euthymius the spiritual father, most able and blessed among priest-monks, with servants and much money, of which he is to use a part to build the holy Monastery and another part to buy land near and far... and I have dedicated many* metochia *and land rents to this Monastery"* [5].

Lasting ownership of the lands was safeguarded by documents and boundary markers, on which the Monastery lavished constant care because they sanctified the boundaries of its land, making them fixed and inviolable. These documents provided the legal proof of dedications, purchases and bequests and stated the points along the boundary line with the utmost care:

"I also purchased the mountain known as Dafni", continued Ioannis, *"from the Monastery of Docheiariou, for eight hundred and thirty two pieces of money, and I have granted these lands to my holy and worthy Monastery, known as the Monastery of kyr-Simon of the Rock, to have and to hold in all eternity. The perimeter of the said mountain and all the other property of the Monastery is as follows: it begins, on the southern side, at the coast, at the store-house by the stream and runs to the summit of the mountain and then straight along the summit ridge, in a northerly direction, and then it descends opposite, to the spring... and then it joins the road coming from the Monastery of Kyr-Gregorius... and descends to the chestnut tree where stands a fountain... and it marches along the big stream... and descends to the low place where the water collects and is called the black marsh and as far as Dafni and the sea..."* [6].

For this reason, the monks took care that official copies of the documents were made whenever they showed signs of wear, *"so that the borders of the lands and metochia be not consigned to forgetfulness, the human memory being so fallible"* [7]. Whenever a fire broke out, the first priority was to save the holy relics, which sanctified the area and formed a bridge to the hereafter, but the monks' next thought was to rescue the documents which established the legitimacy of their ownership of the lands and regulated their relations with their neighbours[8].

The boundary markers ('voulles') were set in place, built up, recorded on the boundary documents (*"there stands a stone with a carved mark"*), marked with a cross or the letter Π (for *Petriotiko*) on the maps (fig. 16), and supplemented with 'bars' and barriers, but were also violated, sometimes with catastrophic consequences (fig. 14)[9]. The bars, which took the form of wooden gates, closed off the entrances to the Monastery area, stressing its right to control access. In general, these boundaries served to mark the organised, familiar, protected site of the Monastery off from the surrounding area, which was alien and perhaps hostile. They enclosed the results of the use of that space, of its exploitation, and they signified the area within which that exploitation was continuing. The boundaries differentiate space qualitatively and symbolically, making it into a 'place'.

The monastery 'place' is the outcome of centuries of planned use. The first priority was to ensure its security and its water supply, and the next to organise its farming and stock-breeding activities. 'Manufacturing' activities developed in parallel. Communications between the Monastery and the most important places within its possessions (the arsanas, Ayios Dimitrios where the wood-cutters lived, Ambelikia, Kravasaras, Dontas) and outside (Karyes, other monasteries) were along the *kalderimia* (cobbled mule-tracks) and paths; goods were transported by caique or mule, and important persons travelled on horseback; horses were a special sign of prestige and place within the social hierarchy[10]. The *kellia* and the houses provided frequent evidence of the human presence —in the form of worship or toil— within the area; crossroads were indicated and protected by shrines, and the crosses carved in wood or stone ensured that memories of acquisition, use and worship would not fade. The natural world was altered and given values which differed from area to area and from place to place. It

is principally the 'place' of *"the labourers for the monks"*, whose work followed the natural clock of the seasons as they toiled in the forests, the vineyards, the olive groves or in breeding calves[11], the place of the craftsmen at the brick and lime kilns or in the smithy and, lastly, the world of the kelli-dwellers and anchorites, a world which, for the Monastery as city, constituted the rural hinterland.

Humanisation of the site progressed slowly: springs became fountains, vineyards sprang up next to the gardens, anchorite's cells grew into houses; kellia acquired larger churches. The sanctity of the place and its general protection were renewed every so often —or in times of crisis— by rituals (blessings, processions). The placenames kept alive the memory of those who had passed this way, linking its current inhabitants to the place and the works of their predecessors (the Païsiou and Ignatiou areas, the kellia of Matthaios and Alypios, the road of Meletios, the sawmills of Efthymios, the hut of Apostolis, the cross of Yelasios, the stream of Xenias), to the places of work, such as *Ambelikia* ('the vineyard'), *Palaiomoschariko* ('the old byre for the calves'), *Tragokalyva* ('the hut for the billy-goats'), *Tavriariko* ('the byre for the bulls'), *Prionia* and *Palaiopriona* ('the sawmill' and 'the old sawmill'), *Touvlario* ('the brick kiln'), *Alonaki* ('the little threshing floor'), *Leivadaki* ('the little meadow'), *Heimadio* ('winter grazing'), *Voros* ('the fold'), or *Asvestaria* ('the lime kiln') or the places of worship, such as the kellia of St John the Divine, of St Savas, of Our Lady, of St Simon or of the Holy Trinity, and to the springs and the boundaries. The placenames were thus part of the daily life structures, the *longues durées*. They were established by —in their turn— uses, customs, rights and values: the unwritten myth of place.

At the centre of the 'place' stood the Monastery, a monument of the founder's faith and of the theophany which determined that it should be built there, a symbol of security, of duration, of authority and power. It was also a symbol of Paradise in the original Persian sense of the word (meaning 'enclosed area, building') and also in its current sense of the ideal city (see p. 74). The Monastery stands on high, in a position which enables it to be seen, to keep watch (particularly over the area lying between the Crosses[12]) and to exercise aural control over its surroundings by means of 'semantra' and bells. In its form and arrangement, the Monastery building reiterates the manner in which the Monastery 'place' is integrated into the more general space. The enceinte, a fortified structure of intense symbolism —one of man's first works to bear such a charge— marks the dividing line between the places of work and the place of worship, between open spaces and enclosed spaces, between the countryside and the 'city', between loose and tight organisation. The only entrance (for the little sally-port was used only at moments of exceptional danger) is monumental in its dimensions and its decoration and is protected in a number of ways (in earlier times by a bridge and a tower, with its iron-clad gate, by the sign of the Cross or by a depiction of the Monastery's patron saint). It marks the transition from one quality of space into another.

At the centre of the centre, in the heart of the monastery, is the *katholikon*. The other spaces, with their different categories of function, are laid out around it: the chapels, the cells of the monks, office areas and workshops (the bakery, the tailor's shop, in former times the cobbler's shop), the quarters of those who are old or ill (the hospice, the infirmary), accommodation for pilgrims (the guesthouse) and store-rooms. Particular care was taken over the library and the sacristy. Around the katholikon was the courtyard, a multi-purpose area which also served as a kind of frame for the katholikon. The refectory, too, was directly linked to the katholikon.

The rhythm in this labyrinth of buildings, for the multiplicity of activities carried out there, for the alternating periods in the life of the brethren (rotating tasks, worship, prayer and rest), of the labourers and craftsmen and of the pilgrims was beaten out by the semantra. Spatial organisation was in the service of, and was served by, the organisation of time, both together shaping the customs of daily life, the life-style of lives dedicated to worship.

The Monastery —as a brotherhood, as a building and a place, as the place of worship of its founder and as a manner of worship according to his example, as miracle and as history— is the fundamental element in the monk's identity, his personality, his individuality. It is his principal point of reference and the axis around which his life revolves. It is *"the only place*

Fig. 23 Athos from the Simonopetra wood.

Fig. 24 The south western side of the Athos promontory.

Fig. 25 Kelli of St Nicholas Dontas and the surrounding area.

Fig. 26 The harbour at Dafni and the Gulf of the Holy Mountain.

Fig. 27 Stand of broad-leaved trees in the Simonopetra wood.

Fig. 28 Chestnut wood belonging to Simonopetra.

Fig. 29 Chestnut wood in the winter.

Fig. 30 Chestnut wood in the winter.

where [the monk] can experience heaven upon earth because each monastery is itself the New Jerusalem, 'descending out of heaven from God, having the glory of God' "(Revelation 21:10) [13].

"When we had recovered from the initial state of bewilderment and sorrow which had overcome us", wrote Abbot Neophytos after the ruinous fire of 1891, *"we made up our minds that with the help of God we should restore the gutted Monastery little by little (some Fathers said that the Monastery ought to be built anew in a more convenient position, and this possibility was investigated, but it was not approved in view of the historic nature of the site and its holiness and the cost) and as I write this, in Feb[ruary] 1893, the greater part of the Monastery is almost finished"* (Codex B, p. 106).

The Monastery, as a centre of worship, as a landowner, as an ark for the art it contains, is a powerful point in space: it is the *longues durées*.

The church itself is a symbolically-structured concept of the world which is experienced ritually. Its orientation, its cruciform plan, its perpendicular drive upwards, its hierarchically arranged wall-paintings, its services and its holy relics make up a symbolic world which gives meanings to history and to the lives of the faithful. It is in the church that the community becomes aware of its unity, hierarchy, power and mission, that it is conscious of the liturgical cycle of the annual calendar and of the linear progress of history from the Incarnation to the Second Coming. Here the community transcends time, death, space and worldly reality, communing with and sharing in the divine: *"In this symbolic world...the real scale of space was the sky, and the real scale of time, Eternity."* [14].

Concepts of the organisation, use and value of space and man's relations with space determine the manner in which it is represented. The mapping of large areas was the concern of the powerful, who were interested in occupying such areas (castles) and exploiting them (taxation). In a sporadic manner after the 13th century and systematically after the 16th, the promotion of commercial interests and the need to satisfy inquiry into ancient history determined the areas and features of the Eastern Mediterranean covered by maps: coastlines, harbours, castles and historical sites. The results produced by copying were very slowly improved by on-the-spot research, but the mapping of places which lay off the main roads, outside theatres of war and in the hinterland in general was long delayed[15]. Monasteries were marked circumstantially: their bulk imposed their presence on the landscape, and the veneration of the more important saints impressed itself on the respect of pilgrims, travellers and cartographers. Like other small-scale areas (with the exception of the islands), Mt Athos did not interest the cartographers of the early modern period. The spatial features included in the descriptions of boundaries in legal documents (see above, p. 63) and witnessed by the boundary markers and the oral testimony of the older monks 'who remember' were sufficient to meet the current requirements of the rural community, especially as far as the ownership of land was concerned.

Concepts of space and the resources of science and technology determine the forms in which space is reproduced. Sailors used portolans (descriptive or nautical), isolaria and maps brought from the West. Other requirements —in particular those of a religious relationship with specific places— were satisfied by engravings, paper icons[16]. The copper engraving of St George on Skyros (1780), in which *"the islands of Skyros, Psara and Lemnos have been drawn vertically arranged, on the left, according to a cartographic concept, and facing them, to the right, a part of the west* [read: south east] *coast of Mt Athos"* [17] is a isolated if not unique example of the reproduction of larger areas in such 'icons'. It also demonstrates the long-standing spiritual and economic bonds between Megiste Laura and its metochi on Skyros.

In the engravings, Mt Athos is the largest spatial unit shown[18]. The earliest Western engravings are a combination of map and landscape painting[19] but soon it became customary to show the two sides of the peninsula separately (fig. 3) or in conjunction, with Mt Athos and two peaks in the centre (fig. 5). The purpose of these engravings was to provide an 'image' of the place, using some of its fundamental features (it is a mountainous and wooded area, it is surrounded by the sea) and with imaginary buildings to indicate the approximate positions of the monasteries, with their names. In other words, their purpose was to provide evidence

of the promontory's nature as a 'Holy Mountain'. The sanctity of the place is further stressed in an engraving (to be used for printing shrouds, fig. 4) which retains these elements; however, the scene is dominated visually by the domes and their crosses and by the figure of Our Lady. The engraving which shows both sides of Mt Athos (fig. 5) adds the cultivated areas near the monasteries and also the human element (a procession, pilgrims, fisherman). However, the engraver's intention was not to provide information but to convey a message, or rather, to provide the information necessary to convey the greatest possible message: Mt Athos as Our Lady's garden. The wall-painting in the Romanian skete (fig. 11) is a later and somewhat altered version of this theme. Here the imaginary monastery buildings, with their patron saints next to them, are arranged in two perpendicular rows, a recollection of their horizontal arrangement on the two sides of the mountain. The only realistic element in this highly symbolic composition (indicative of its date:1866) is the skete on the upper left, shown in approximately its actual position.

The engravings of the monasteries confine themselves to the buildings and their surroundings —the area which belongs to the monastery, which is cultivated by the monks and which is described in the documents: the monastery at the centre of its world. Their purpose was to attract pilgrims, to facilitate fund-raising trips and to establish the monastery's network of relationships; above all, they were intended to convey *"a religious and often mystical message to an intensely religious society"* [20]. That message was that the monastery is an earthly image of Paradise, a foretaste of the hereafter as it was sensed to be by the sponsors, engravers and recipients of these representations. The monasteries offered security, comfort, continuity; they were fortified complexes, agricultural and stock-breeding units, whose technological infrastructure was among the best of the time[21]; they had social prestige, were obviously prosperous and traditionally had experience in 'international and public relations'. The engravings which the monasteries themselves published and distributed as their 'public image' contained all the evidence of this. The engraving of the John the Baptist Monastery at Serres is a typical example (fig. 210): communications with the nearby large urban centre are good (*"the road from Serres"*, *"the road to Serres"*, *"bridge"*); there is plentiful water (*"river"*) and it is available (*"aqueduct"*) at a number of points inside and outside the Monastery (*"fountains"*); the water is used to work basic machines (*"mill"*, *"drysta"* [= fulling-tub]); there is all the infrastructure for farming (*"wine-press"*, *"threshing-floor"*, *"barn"*); time can be measured with accuracy (*"clock"*) and communicated by aural means to the surrounding area (*"bell-tower"*). This engraving also betrays a concern for items of value (*"archive"*, *"sacristy"*) and daily necessities (*"kitchen"*), good relations with the hierarchy of the church (*"the bishop's quarters"*) and with pilgrims (*"guesthouse"*, *"hostel"*), provision for the monastery itself in difficult times (*"tower"*, *"sally-port"*) or for the lives of those associated with it (*"infirmary"*), as well as care for the end of those lives (*"cemetery"*). The monastery is shown to be self-sufficient in the basic commodities (*"garden"*, *"vineyards"* in a number of positions, *"large olive-grove"*) and to be a very holy place: apart from the monastery itself, the whole area is surrounded by churches (*"the founder's skete"*, *"St Paraskeve"*, *"the Transfiguration"*, *"the Archangels"*, *"Our Lady"*, *"Sts Cosmas and Damian"*, *"the cemetery"*, *"Our Lady"*). Those who received or saw copies of the engraving would be impressed by the highly organised monastery space, by the atmosphere of wealth, peace and power which the representation suggests[22]. *Mutatis mutandis*, the intentions and effects of all the paper icons of the monasteries are the same. In these engravings, of which thousands were in circulation, we are shown a world which knows nothing of brigands, hunger or pestilence, of the oppression of the secular authorities: this is a world simultaneously inside and outside the world. It is a world of plenty, of constant celebration, of happiness. Particular care was taken in drawing the fenced gardens so as to show the variety of crops and of the tasks performed there (figs 20, 21). The Monastery's relationship with the sea, which produced fish and transported goods, was equally satisfactory (see fig. 22, with the *"arsanas"*, where the monastery boat could be kept safe, and the *"magazine"*, the store-house for the supplies brought by the boat). As a rule, the monks are shown at formal moments: during procession or blessings or when receiving visitors. Pilgrims who participate in the rituals are shown in their best local dress. The same image of peace can be seen in the depiction of the skete (fig. 19): the skete is an ideal village matching the ideal

city of the monastery. It is dominated by its *"kyriakon"* (main church) and its cemetery, while two monks are shown reading.

It is in this light that we should read the three engravings whose subject is Simonopetra, together with the representation of the Monastery on the side of a Russian box of 1895 (fig. 104) which is a copy of the 1868 engraving. The Monastery building dominates the centre with its bulk; the rest of the surface is a synthesis of the basic features of the mountainous landscape close to the Monastery and further away: the *"mill"*, the *"arches for the water"*, the *"cemet[ery]"*, the *"garden"*, and, a greater distance, the *"arsanas"*, the *"kelli of St John the Divine"*, *"St Demetrius"* (fig. 2). The *"ambelonas"* ("vineyard") is added as a placename in the second engraving (fig. 9) and the third (fig. 8) shows the *"smithy"* together with the new shrine and its name. All the engravings take particular care to show the other formal elements of the organised space: bars, *"kalderimia"*, gardens.These works are symbols, but also to some extent land registers. They are crowned and legitimated by representations of the founder, of St Mary Magdalene, the second patron saint, and by the Birth of Christ to which the katholikon is dedicated. The engraving of 1868 is framed on three sides with the principal scenes from the life of the Saint, as a reference to the beginning of the sanctification of the place.

This intensely symbolic concept of spatial representation can also be seen in the works of art and in the seals. In the works of art (figs 4, 104), the Monastery is depicted schematically, the landscape is limited to the *"steep and hazardous nature of the place"* and the sea, and the dimensions of the saints are supra-natural by comparison to the buildings. The seals —which are works of art, too— are the ultimate abstraction, reducing the whole shape of the Monastery to a symbol (figs 151-152, 154-156) equated with the founder (fig. 157), the great feast in the name of which the katholikon is honoured (figs 145-150) and the brotherhood whose expressed wishes they ratify. These seals, works of art which are both a symbol and a tool of administrative practice, stand in between the idealisation of reality in the engravings and reproduction of the reality in the landscapes.

The drawing by the monk Barskij (1744, fig. 7) was intended to meet another need, that of information, and to fulfil another purpose, that of fidelity. Barskij toured the area and recorded it, illustrating and documenting the text of his travels, *"as anyone can conclude clearly here from the representation on paper, which has been drawn from the southern and the western* [read eastern] *sides"*, he notes in his description of the layout of the Monastery buildings[23]. Barskij viewed his subject from same position as that used by the engravers (a viewpoint which, in fact, does not exist: it would be above the sea, slightly higher than the Monastery) but what he was doing was recording the landscape, not producing a composition with the elements of the place. For that reason, the distances (e.g., from the Monastery to the arsanas), the proportions of the buildings (the arsanas looks bigger because it is closer), the contours of the hillside and the details of the buildings are all very close to reality[24]. The watercolour entitled *"A Map Showing the Boundaries of our House at Dontas, St Nicholas"* (fig. 14) was produced for the same purpose: that of providing a detailed description of reality. The claims of Xeropotamou on the vineyard and its surroundings had led to their destruction by those monks (see fig. 14 and note 9). The watercolour recorded the damage done, performing the same task as a photograph if the use of photography had been widespread then, and serving as evidence for the court. The notes on it explain the features shown: *"wood cut down by our neighbours in Xeropotamou in 1878, for charcoal"* (in two places), *"broken bridge"* (in two places), *"ruined olive trees"*, *"ruined olive trees and fig trees and vines and terraces, etc."*, *"ruined terraces, vines, fig trees, peach trees, etc."*. Other notes provide supplementary topographical particulars: *"Mintikas"*, *"the road leading to our house at Dontas, St Nicholas"*.

Spatial representation passed from landscape drawing into cartography in a map of the Simonopetra area (fig. 15) and another map, on a smaller scale, of the Sykia[15] metochi (fig. 16). *The "Map of Simonopetra, Drawn by Alexander T.P.P. of Phocaea, on Mount Athos, 6 May 1878"* is the original and bears the stamp of its creator, placenames in Greek and Turkish, the scale (1 mm = 10 metres) and an arrow to show north. This is the work of an 'expert', who walked the whole area carefully, collected all the useful information about each place (hills, streams, buildings) but was unable to render the overall shape of the space with particular accuracy. The map provides an exhaustive description of the features

of importance from an administrative or economic point of view (boundaries, 'bars', roads, fields) and was drawn up for the civil authorities who were responsible for resolving the disputes with next-door Xeropotamou, and certainly not for the monks of Simonopetra, who knew their possessions inch by inch.

The map of the Sykia metochi (fig. 16) is an attempt to describe a smaller area. It, too, contains all the essential features: that is, those which were necessary for a complete picture of the metochi and would be included in the documents of the period. The map shows the basic geographical boundaries: to the SW, the Gulf of Toroni (waves), high up to the NE the summit ridge (a line of trees) and after this, high up on the foothills of the other mountainside, the village of Sykia (a group of houses). The metochi is crossed from the summit right to the sea by a broad pink band with brown lines down its middle (the Vava stream-bed). The brown lines running into this are smaller stream-beds, and the pair of narrow lines (brown and pink) stand for the paths. Hilltops inside the metochi are shown by yellow lines and rows of trees. The boundary markers using the monastery diacritic Π(ετριώτικο) show the farthest limits of the metochi. The lands themselves are marked in colours and designs according to their use: forest, marsh, fields. Four large houses (three of them coloured) are also shown in various positions, together with a group of buildings (huts?) near the sea, on the right. This map must have been drawn around 1860-1870, and it covers an area with a length of some eight kilometres[25].

Monks live 'between heaven and earth'. On earth, they 'retreat' from the city in which life is no longer possible; they settle in rural areas, humanise them by their labour and sanctify them by their prayers, creating a different and viable 'city' of moral and economic power. On earth, the monasteries are powerful landowners, with all the activities, relationships, problems and advantages which that implies.

This survey has provided a picture of space as it is organised around such monasteries. Inside the monastery gate, the uses and concepts of space (and time) change; this is *"the only place where [monks] can live heaven on earth"*. Above the monastery, after the cemetery (see p. 45) and after the Second Coming, towers the third space of real life. An image of this space can be gained from the copper engraving of the Second Coming[26] (fig. 10a): in the centre is the Throne of Judgment, to the right is Hell, a return to the bowels of the earth and a place of dreadful torment, and to the left is Paradise, an ideal city in the shape of a monastery, with walls and towers and cypress trees all around: *"And bestow it [the soul of Thy servant who has fallen asleep]... in the abodes of Thy saints, in a place of light, in a place of verdance, in a place of refreshment, where all pain, sorrow and sighing have fled away"* [27].

The Architecture of Simonopetra

P. Theocharidis

The evolution of the architecture of the Holy Mountain, part of which are the buildings of Simonopetra, has taken place within the broader context of the medieval and post-medieval architecture of the southern Balkans, developing, however, special features common to the whole Athonite peninsula, and to the *metochia* outside it.

The majority of the Athonite monasteries, following the established layout of Orthodox religious houses, have grown up on the basic plan of a fortified enceinte (usually rectangular), the buildings of which enclose a spacious courtyard in which is sited, free-standing, the *katholikon*[1]. However, the earlier building phases of some of the smaller monasteries diverge from this, generally speaking, regular pattern, as is the case, for example, with the four monasteries on the south western side of the peninsula (Simonopetra, Gregoriou, Dionysiou, Aghiou Pavlou), which were founded during the late Byzantine period on the top of huge precipitous rocks. It has now been established that at least two of these (Gregoriou, Aghiou

Pavlou) were during their earlier phases each under a single roof, without a courtyard, while their katholikon was not an independent building, but incorporated into the upper part of a larger complex[2]. Certain travellers' accounts dating from the later period of Turkish domination suggest that Simonopetra too was without a courtyard or was all under a single roof, from which only the dome of the katholikon protruded[3]. Nevertheless, the evidence which is currently available indicates that it must have been in those times very different from the two monasteries mentioned above, since it had a very narrow yard around three sides of the katholikon, as Dionysiou has. In every other respect, however, these four monasteries were in the course of their history obliged to expand chiefly on the vertical axis, gradually covering sides of their rock with buildings; as a result, they acquired a compact, tower-like character.

However, the Gregoriou and Aghiou Pavlou Monasteries, which had around them terrain more amenable to extension, later changed their former character completely[4] and came closer to the typical design of the monastery which is fortified, but laid out horizontally; the building complex of Simonopetra, on the other hand, has retained the tower-like character to this day, in spite of the additions and alterations which it has undergone in the meantime. The various spaces and functions at Simonopetra have always been arranged on the vertical axis, with the use of superimposed levels on the sides of the rock, up to its top, where the courtyard is sited. It is on this level that the katholikon, the refectory, the kitchen and the bakery stand (illus. 4). Above the level of the refectory, the whole of the upper floor of the south west building is occupied by the guesthouse; the upper floor of the new east wing (1897-1902) houses the Abbot's quarters.

Unlike the monastery itself, the other lesser buildings within the domain of Simonopetra could each be considered as a typical example of the Athonite architecture of its time. Some of them constitute significant points of reference for an understanding of the categories to which they belong, as, for example, the fortified tower of the *arsanas* (1567), the *kathisma* of St John the Divine (1702, a relatively early example of this type of small establishment), and two buildings of the 1920s (at Dontas and at Ayios Dimitrios), which both, particularly the former, were built in accordance with the older, traditional building techniques.

The architectural character of the Monastery complex is today indelibly marked by its newer buildings, which belong to the period 1862-1902. The nucleus of the enceinte can, however, be seen to be much older, since it clearly displays certain special features of construction in use on Mt Athos during the 16th and 17th century; there are also certain vestiges of even earlier (Byzantine) building phases. The later buildings can all be dated from inscriptions and are also referred to in a large number of archival sources. By way of contrast, estimates for the two earlier periods are based almost exclusively on information yielded by an examination of the buildings themselves[5], taken in conjunction with some older representations of them. The historical sources are sparse and the information which they give is often very general in nature.

The gradual development of the complex, in terms of its ground plan, is given here (illus. 3) to the extent to which it can currently be traced. If we subtract the two buildings which were added on the south west (1862-1864) and on the east (1897-1902) by Abbot Neophytos (see also fig. 40), what remains is the older nucleus of the Monastery as shown in Barskij's drawing of 1744 (fig. 7). The only difference in its general shape lies in what is today the top floor above the refectory, also added by Neophytos, which was originally built on in 1862-1864 and reconstructed in 1892. The complex shown by Barskij was mostly the result of large-scale works which must have been carried out chiefly after the fire of 1580, but also, perhaps, a little before that; there is, anyway, evidence to suggest that the Monastery was smaller in earlier times. This can be seen clearly in the eastern part of the old nucleus, where the external outline of the enceinte can be reconstructed as it must have been in the late Byzantine period (illus. 3). It is probably also to this early phase of the buildings that certain construction work at the very bottom of the western wall belongs.

For the late Byzantine period, the earliest information which we have about the Monastery's buildings is to be found in the founding chrysobull of the Serbian Despot Ioannis Uglješa,

who desired *"to raise the little monastic building of the Rock of Kyr Simon ... to a monastery"*. The work undertaken by Uglješa was carried out between 1365 and 1368. The chrysobull gives the clear impression that while it was at that time that *"all the holy monastery, with tower and cells, and all the needful offices"* was built, nevertheless no new church was constructed, but rather some pre-existent one *"was beautified and painted...and roofed with lead in its entirety"*[6]. The Monastery's *aqueduct* is another structure whose foundation can be ascribed to that period, as can be seen from historical evidence of a later date and from an examination of the stages of building. In the lower part of its north face extensive remains of two large arches (of a span much wider than that of those above), with a small arched niche between them (figs 32, 222), are visible. Originally the aqueduct must have reached to the level of these arches, and no higher, as is shown by the slightly inclined line which divides the first from the second building phase. This line coincides with the level of an old clay conduit, built into the eastern part of the northern face[7].

Documents dating from 150 years later (the first half of the 16th century) throw light on the progressive recovery of the Monastery at that time from a period of destitution and water shortage, which had resulted in many of its monks leaving. This happened with the arrival of a new group of some 40 monks, when restoration of the walls, the cells and the decoration of the church began. The monks, in the letters which they sent out appealing for financial aid, repeatedly stated that for a long time, since the days of the Monastery's first founder, no one had undertaken any major work on the church or the buildings, while the aqueduct, which had previously extended into the Monastery, no longer worked and was in need of repair. The latter, however, was very soon attended to, through the aid of a man of standing from Thessaloniki[8]. Indeed, the second building phase which can be identified in the aqueduct can be dated to that period. It extends up to the projecting brick cornice which runs along the length of the edifice, roughly mid-way up its total height, and includes the line of arches (now walled up) which is borne on high strong pillars (fig. 222).

As has already been stated, the whole of the perimeter of the old nucleus of the complex shows the features of the architecture of the early part of Turkish rule on Mt Athos and, consequently, if we accept the evidence of the documents mentioned above, it must be regarded as belonging to the period c. 1550 - c. 1650, since the Monastery's finances both before that time and in the years which followed would not seem to have permitted extensions or the undertaking of major projects. The building masses are heavy and compact, without special architectural features on the facades, and their vertical edges incline perceptibly inwards as they rise. The walls consist of plain but well-built rubble masonry, with minimal use of bricks, while the windows are small with wide brick arches, which are often surrounded by a simple brick band (figs. 31, 40). At the eastern corner of the southern facade of the old nucleus, where the original surfaces of the wall remain intact (fig. 40), the general impression is strongly reminiscent of the south west building of the fortified enceinte of Dionysiou, which dates from a little after the mid 16th century[9]. The two great fires which Simonopetra experienced in 1580 and in 1622 are without doubt points of reference for a more exact dating of the buildings, though this is not an easy undertaking at present. Our sources state that the damage in 1580 was of a general nature and that even the walls collapsed to a great extent[10], in which case, if they are to be taken literally, the conclusion to be reached is that they refer to buildings earlier than those standing today.

During this period, the *gate* of the Monastery stood at the end of the existing covered entry passage, at the point where the way in forks north and south, beneath a semi-dome (illus. 3). Above this vaulted entrance area stood a small tower-like structure (of which only the eastern part survives today, see illus. 4 and fig. 31), as was then customary on the Holy Mountain. The arched bridge which still stands, spanning what was then the gorge which separated the rock on which the Monastery stands, was erected at that time in order to reach the entrance (see fig. 213); the second phase of the aqueduct seems to have rested on this bridge, in order to reach what was then the eastern wall of the building complex. In all probability, the whole of the north eastern part of the enceinte belongs to the same building phase as the bridge. Up till then, access to the Monastery must always have been from exactly the same point (perhaps by a wooden bridge originally), where the gorge seems to have been at its narrowest. The small

projection which can be seen in the outline of the Byzantine eastern side, exactly on the site of the gate (illus. 3), is perhaps connected with some older, Byzantine entrance 'tower'.

Another tower-like mass rose from the south western corner of the buildings, as can be seen from the depictions of Barskij and Curzon (figs 7, 10); its lower two floors today house the inner room of the sacristy, below, and, above, the library of manuscripts and early printed books. What appears to have been a single building mass to which this tower belongs also includes the refectory (in the eastern part) and, below this, the Chapel of St George, which initially occupied only the south eastern corner of the church as it is today. Before the addition of the upper floor, in 1864, the roof of the refectory formed the top of the building and there is evidence that it was vaulted down to the time of Abbot Amvrosios (1831-1847)[11]. In 1864, the refectory was largely rebuilt by Abbot Neophytos and today is an elongated three-aisled hall with arcades of plastered woodwork and a wooden ceiling (fig. 73).

Another undertaking of the early Turkish period on the eastern side of the old nucleus was the building of its eastern *korda* (wing), outside the Byzantine bounds of the Monastery, which took place after the completion of the south eastern building (refectory, Chapel of St George) and the second phase of the aqueduct. A clue for the dating of this wing to a point after 1632 can perhaps be derived from the number of rooms which the Monastery is known to have contained, which in 1569 and 1632 remained unchanged at 36 (according to Turkish documents), while in 1744 Barskij put the number up to 100[12]. In the upper part of building the side facing on to the courtyard consisted of arcades, in accordance with the fashion of the times on Athos[13], and almost touched the apse of the katholikon (fig. 213). This upper part was demolished after the fire of 1891, while the lower part was banked up to a certain point with rubble; soon afterwards the barrel vaults of the two superimposed areas lying immediately below the courtyard, which had thus been extended, were constructed, with the building of the new eastern wing (see illus. 5). All that remains of the eastern wing of the old nucleus is its lower part, which, since the rubble filling was removed a few years ago[14], now gives us a striking picture of the inner face of its external wall, pierced by its successive rows of windows (fig. 228). Another photograph (fig. 221) shows the outer facade of this wing as it was in 1883.

The *katholikon* as it is today occupies the entire breadth of the top of the rock, and the foundations of its eastern extremity must rest upon structures which reach the area of the limit of the Byzantine enceinte (illus. 5). However, it is not possible in the present state of our knowledge to establish with which building phase this substructure is related. As will be explained below, the katholikon would seem to date from the period around 1600, and, naturally, it is possible that it co-existed for a time with the old, Byzantine bounds of the Monastery (which perhaps then took the form of a simple parapet at the level of the courtyard, see illus. 5) until the eastern wing of the old nucleus was built[15].

The features of the construction of the katholikon are today completely hidden beneath very recent internal and external plastering and a new lead roof; these have obscured the details of the arrangement of its masses (fig. 215 and illus. 5, 6). As a result, it will only be possible to 'read' the history of the construction of the building during the course of systematic research in the future. The church is of the Athonite type; i.e., a cross-in-square with side apses and a *lite* (broad narthex). The columns of the katholikon are not single pieces of marble, but masonry piers. We know that after the fire of 1891 the lite was rebuilt in the form and style it has today, with a central dome; until that time it had two masonry piers supporting an upper storey which contained the *catechumena* and chapels, with a roof topped by two smaller domes[16] (see also figs 212, 213 and 7). There is much evidence to suggest that the katholikon was built in the early period of Turkish rule: the built columns, the general layout of the external surfaces and the roof, the manner in which the spaces on either side of the *bema* are designed as *typikaria* with low domes concealed from view on the outside by the roof[17], the building phases which can be discerned in the infrastructure of the lite (the inner room of the *docheion*, illus. 5 and fig. 231), together with the disproportionate relationship between the size of the church and the Byzantine eastern boundary of the Monastery, which means that the Byzantine church must have been smaller. A rather puzzling inscription carved on a plaque kept in the sacristy and probably originally from the katholikon[18] appears to refer to the dedication of the church in 1633, and states that the building had been erected some time

LEGEND

GENERAL

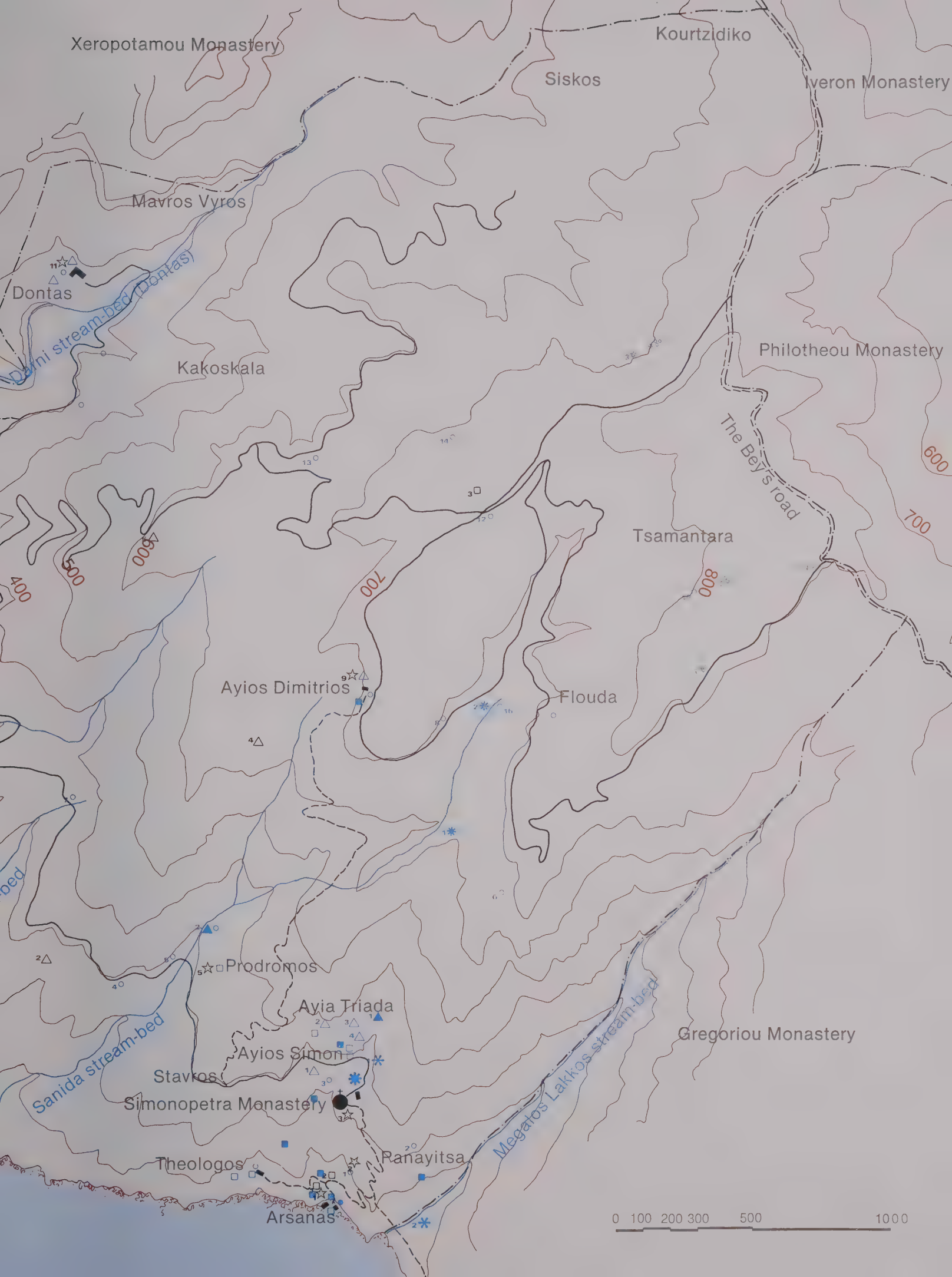
- *Boundaries of the Simonopetra area*
- *Modern roads*
- *Old cobbled mule tracks*
- △ *Livestock buildings etc.*
  1. *Palaiomoschariko (calves)*
  2. *Tragokalyva (goats)*
  3. *Tavriariko (bulls)*
  4. *Voros (fold)*
  5. *Cheimadia (winter quarters)*
- ▫ *Workshops*
  1. *Lime kiln*
  2. *Lime kiln*
  3. *Brick kiln*
- ☆ *Fields*
  1. *Arsanas (gardens)*
  2. *Patari (olives)*
  3. *Monastery (gardens)*
  4. *Kalamitsaki (olives)*
  5. *Prodromos (olives)*
  6. *Ambelikia (vines)*
  7. *Kiravasaras (olives, fruit trees)*
  8. *Paisíou (olives)*
  9. *Ayios Dimitrios (fruit trees)*
  10. *Docheiaritika (olives)*
  11. *Dontas (vines, gardens, olives)*

WATER SUPPLY SYSTEM

- *Stream beds*
- ✻ *Watermills*
  1. *Simonopetra watermill*
  2. *Gregoriou watermill*
- ✻ *Olive-press*
- ✻ *Water-powered sawmills*
  1. *Filippa*
  2. *Old saw*
- ● *Well*
- ■ *Covered cistern*
- ▫ *Open cistern*
- ▲ *Dam*
  1. *Monastery*
  2. *Prodromos*
  3. *Dafni*
- △ *Spring with water welling up*
  1. *Alypios*
  2. *Ayia Triada*
  3. *St Simon (upper)*
  4. *St Simon (lower)*
- ○ *Spring*
  1. *Olive grove*
  2. *Panayitsa*
  3. *Ilarion's garden*
  4. *Platanakia*
  5. *Sanida*
  6. *Nero Igoumenou*
  7. *Kokkinos*
  8. *Kopana Sklithrou*
  9. *Plystres*
  10. *Oxya (the kalyva of Apostolis)*
  11. *Bousdoumi*
  12. *Dry spring of the brick kiln*
  13. *Dry spring at Sklithro*
  14. *Minas*
  15. *Old sawmill*
- ⚘ *Ground water outlets*
  1. *Road with the springs*
  2. *Kleftoneria*
  3. *Nisakia*
  4. *Nera Xenia*

Note: For the water supply system of the area of the Monastery, see illus. 3.

Illus. 2 General map of the Monastery area (p. 47).


Xeropotamou Monastery
Kourtzidiko
Siskos
Iveron Monastery
Mavros Vyros
Dontas
Dontas stream-bed (Dontas)
Kakoskala
Philotheou Monastery
The Bey's road
600
700
Tsamantara
800
400
500
600
700
Ayios Dimitrios
Flouda
Prodromos
Ayia Triada
Ayios Simon
Stavros
Sanida stream-bed
Simonopetra Monastery
Gregoriou Monastery
Megalos Lakkos stream-bed
Theologos
Panayitsa
Arsanas
0 100 200 300 500 1000

before. The documentary accounts of the fires of 1580 and 1622 record that the church escaped destruction on both occasions[19]. This by itself, of course, does not prove that in both cases the church was that which we see today. On the other hand, the repairs to the church evidenced by two Turkish permits of the years 1594 and 1622 may have served to conceal the main building phase of the structure —that of its construction[20]. The question is further complicated by the late 17th century tradition (preserved by Ioannis Komninos) that the church was built by St Simon, while the rest of the Monastery was completed with the assistance of Ioannis Uglješa[21]. It is not impossible that this view, which is so radically at odds with events still fresh in the memory at the time, may represent some attempts at antiquarianism[22] based, perhaps, on a study of Uglješa's chrysobull.

One of the last sizeable construction projects of this period was the third phase of the aqueduct, in which the two top lines of arches were added (fig. 218). A *'hüccet'* (religious court decision) of 1632 may relate to this work[23], which clearly was a response to the form and size which the Monastery complex had in the meantime assumed.

Over the next 200 years or so, it would not appear that much alteration was made to the buildings, with the exception of a certain amount of repair work, which our sources place in the mid and late 18th century (initially during the course of efforts to revive the Monastery and then later when the coenobitic order was being restored, a process which was completed by 1801). Further repair work was carried out in the first half of the 19th century[24]. The picture of the Monastery left to us by Barskij in his accurate drawing (1744) was almost identical with that which the work of the 16th and 17th century had produced. We have the testimony of a series of other representations[25] to show that the same overall picture must have remained unchanged until the mid 19th century. As early as Barskij's time the exterior was clad with level upon level of balconies (as it is today), and it seems very likely that these too were built in the 16th and 17th century. However, the additions and extensive redesigning of the buildings which took place later, during the periods 1862-1864 and 1891-1902, changed all the edifices at the top of the enceinte and removed almost all the earlier chapels of the Monastery, some of which may have predated the fire of 1580[26]. Barskij mentions four chapels, including that of St George (the location of which has been identified with the south eastern corner of the chapel beneath the refectory, which today bears the same name - see illus. 18) and that of St Nicholas, *"at the narthex of the katholikon"*. Of the three chapels mentioned by Didron (visit of 1839), only that of St George is also listed by Barskij[27]. Today we know nothing of the locations of any of the other older chapels in the enceinte whose names are mentioned; old pictures show one of them on the topmost floor (to the north east of the refectory) and, perhaps, another on the top of the south west corner of the old nucleus, but neither of these can be matched with the names of the chapels preserved by Barskij and Didron.

Construction of the new multi-storeyed building on the south side lasted three years, from early 1862 to 1864. On the lower part of each side, constructed during the first year of the work, we can distinguish two successive layers in which the masonry differs in colour from that of the rest of the building and for which stone from different quarries was used (figs 40, 41). However, in that year the Monastery (and indeed Mt Athos as a whole) suffered a grave financial blow which may have interrupted the progress of the work for some time: the confiscation of the Athonite estates in Romania.

This work stands out for the excellent quality visible in each of its aspects, from the arrangement of the internal areas on the lower levels —around the rock— to the execution of the masonry, the vaulting and the door and window frames (figs 234-238, 242, 247, 249 and illus. 16). The mass of the building is austere and tower-like, with simple flat wall surfaces and rows of balconies in its upper part; it is in complete harmony with the appearance of the earlier nucleus of the Monastery. The rubble masonry is made up of rough-cut stones, while larger hewn blocks are used at the corners. The lower part of the building has a more firm-set appearance, with small vaulted chambers inside and very few windows. These are rectangular and very small, but painstakingly crafted: the posts and lintels are of hewn stone and they are set in recesses whose arches are constructed with alternating brick and hewn stone. Further up, the floors are wooden and the window openings are larger; they and their arched recesses

are wholly of hewn stone. The window arches are in two colours, using alternate white and green arch-stones, with the exception of the lower row of windows (dating from the year 1862), which are all white. The style and form of these openings alter in the uppermost region of the building, where the windows are not set in recesses. Once more, however, some of their arches are in two colours, and there are also twin windows under relieving arches in two colours (fig. 247). In general, the character of the morphology of the details and of the building's structural execution is that also encountered at this period in north west mainland Greece and in Northern Epirus[28]. The historical evidence and an inscription carved on a lintel on the western facade[29] (fig. 238) inform us that this was the work of *"the Albanian architect...Mr Ioannis Steilianou from the village of Valkamen[i] in the province of the Bishop of Kastouria"*[30]. Indeed, all over Mt Athos and throughout Halkidiki, where most of the metochia of the monasteries were located, there are large numbers of buildings erected during the second half of the 19th century by gangs of workmen from north west Greece, following the particular architectural tradition of that area[31].

The work done during this building phase extended to the uppermost level of the old nucleus, and all the areas to the south west of the katholikon and to the west of the refectory, were radically altered[32]. The refectory itself was extensively reconstructed. It was at this time too that the old kitchen of the Monastery, which must have stood on the site of what is today the exo-narthex, was demolished[33]. The top floor of the new building was also extended over the storey containing the refectory. Large-scale repairs must have been carried out at this time to the old east wing, as can be seen from the morphology of some of its windows as they appear in an engraving from a photograph taken by A. Riley in 1883 (fig. 221). This photograph, together with an earlier one (of 1870, fig. 211), shows the monastery complex in the form which it had taken by the time the work of 1862-1864 was complete.

A few years later, the great fire of 28 May 1891 completely ruined the upper floors of the Monastery and was the reason for their radical re-organisation. With the exception of the south side, the architectural composition of the entire upper part of the old nucleus altered. Work began on the katholikon (with the reconstruction to which we have already referred) and the guesthouse on the south side, which were completed in 1893 and 1892 respectively. The hewn-stone doorframes of these works were all designed under the obvious influence of Western European architecture (see, for example, figs 244, 245, and cf. figs 220, 239), while during the previous period of building, this was only true of the refectory entrance (of 1863, fig. 243). New buildings replaced those which had previously stood within the northern side of the enceinte and the bell-tower to the north west of the katholikon was built (fig. 215). The upper floors of the east wing which rose above the level of the courtyard were demolished entirely in order to enlarge the yard (fig. 213 and illus. 5). In early 1897[34] the foundations were laid for the new multi-storeyed building outside the east wall (though in contact with it), which is much larger than that built in 1862-1864. The erection of this building seems to have been suspended for a while[35] and then continued from 1899 to 1902[36].

Some of the techniques of the Western European architecture of the day were applied to the structures of this last period. For example, while the floors of the guesthouse on the east side (1892) were still of wood, those of the new east wing (1897-1902) were constructed using double T iron girders carrying shallow brick vaults between (illus. 5). This technique was introduced to Mt Athos through the building activities of the Russian monks of the Mountain, with whom Abbot Neophytos had close relations[37]. At the time of the 1891 fire, Neophytos was in Odessa, on his way back from a journey to Russia to raise funds and the reconstruction work of the Monastery subsequently became possible thanks to donations from the pious of that country[38]. It is thus not impossible that for the enormous task of building the new east wing, the Abbot had at his disposal not only Russian technology but foreign advisers as well, and this is probably what a name which occurs in the inscription on the western facade of the building indicates[39]. In all other respects, however, the construction work appears to have been carried out by local craftsmen, as can be seen from the hewn masonry of the outer walls[40] (figs 41, 229) and the morphology of the interior, with its wooden structures and its wooden door and window frames (illus. 5).

There are architectural similarities between the new building of 1862-1864 and that of 1897-

1902, as well as clear references in the latter to the former (e.g., in the windows of its lowest levels and the relieving arches, in two colours, high on its eastern facade - fig. 229). However, the latter is one of the examples which show the rapidity with which traditional architecture was evolving at this time (during the closing years of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century) in the sphere of influence of Mt Athos, as the local modes of building were blended with forms and techniques from the Western European architecture of the day.

The Buildings outside the Monastery

In 1894, three years before the founding of the new east building, a four-storey structure was erected to the south east of the Monastery. On the first floor, this houses the Monastery's smithy and above are rooms for the labourers (fig. 39 and illus. 26). The older smithy had stood very close to the east wall of the old nucleus (see fig. 8) and was burned down in 1891[41]. Slightly further to the east, against the slope of the hill and abutting on the south side of the aqueduct is the *'vordonario'* (illus. 23); the monastery stables are on the ground floor of this building, and hay is stored on the upper floor. The vordonario was already in existence as early as 1744 (see fig. 7), while the small extension on the south side is of a later date. Up against the aqueduct on its north side is a two-storey building with rooms on the upper floor and the washhouse on the ground floor; this was built in 1867[42] and, together with the vordonario, was gutted by fire a few years ago (illus. 23). Opposite it is the olive press building (*"the oil house"*, as Codex B calls it), which was built in the mid 19th century on the steep bank of the torrent and has recently been reconstructed (illus. 7). On its upper floor (at ground level) were the rooms of the labourers on the olive crop and of the monk-steward; below was installed the old water-powered olive press. Lower down there is a vaulted area dating from a period earlier than the house itself. In the cliff, facing the north side of the Monastery, is the cave of St Simon, to which a vestibule was attached in 1888. Some way above the cave is the *kathisma of St Simon* (built in 1868), which should, perhaps, be identified with a similar structure shown by Barskij, who called it the Holy Trinity. To the north east stands the water-mill, built in the mid 19th century on the same site as its pre- decessor (see illus. 3 and fig. 7). Finally, to the south east of the Monastery, beyond the smithy, is the cemetery, with its chapel dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin (fig. 39 and illus. 10). This is a two-storey structure, as was usual in the case of cemetery chapels, with the ossuary on the lower level and the chapel above, probably built in the 18th century. The chapel is of the compressed cross-in-square type, with blind drumless dome and narthex[43].

Until the mid 19th century, the only buildings at the arsanas were the tower with the *karavostasion* (boat-house) attached to it and a kiosk which was on the other side of the path, probably on the site occupied today by a labourers' house (figs 42 and 7). A second boat-house, with rooms over it, was built in 1862; a few decades ago, this building was subjected to disastrous reconstruction in concrete, which reduced it to its present state. In the earlier complex of buildings (which was also repaired in 1862), the tower is dated by an inscription of 1567[44] (fig. 233), and the first building phase which can be discerned in the boat-house attached to it may have taken place at this time. The boat-house building as we see it today (with the storeroom which occupies the entire floor above the boat-house itself, and the wooden roof) must have been completed before Barskij's visit in 1744, as can be deduced from the features of the woodwork[45], although the building is shown as single-storeyed in Barskij's drawing. However, insofar as it concerns the arsanas, this drawing suffers from a number of other shortcomings, which may, perhaps, be due to the fact that Barskij composed it from separate observations and sketches depicting the area from an imaginary viewpoint. The tower is one of the most outstanding works of 16th century Athonite architecture (figs 232, 233) and it has survived intact, in perfect condition, with the exception of its roofing; the level of the roof may have been lowered at some date with the reconstruction with concrete being carried out later. The building has a total of four floors with three spacious and high-ceilinged storeys and a fourth below the level of the entrance (illus. 14, 15). The two middle floors are on a compressed cruciform plan, each being covered by a low brick domed vault borne on brick arches (fig. 45). In the centre of the lowest floor, a square pier supports the four cross-vaults

which form the ceiling at this level. The walls are built in rubble masonry of excellent appearance, with a very limited use of brick on the external surfaces; the windows are small and rectangular. Inside the building, however, the masonry uses stones interspersed with horizontal brickwork, while the windows are set in large recesses with brick arches. This very clear desire to have tones of colour in the interior of the building demonstrates that no plaster can have been used initially. The uppermost floor was intended as living quarters; it has a large fireplace at the western extremity of its north side (fig. 46) and there is a balcony, originally of wood, on the south side. The south eastern corner was occupied by a little chapel[46]. Set in the walls of this storey are windows, four box machicolations and some rifle embrasures. The next floor down was intended for defence by means of heavier weapons, as can be seen from the two cannon ports, one in the west wall and one in the south wall, which commanded the shoreline. The fortified 16th century coastal buildings of Mt Athos were often equipped with cannon[47].

A few minutes' walk to the north west of the arsanas brings us to the *kathisma of St John the Divine,* surrounded by almond trees —in earlier times— and a small grove of olives. This consists of a chapel, to which a house is attached on the west (illus. 9, 24), in line with the usual architectural organisation of the *kellia* outside the Athonite monasteries, as evidenced by countless examples dating from the second half of the 18th century and the 19th century. The particular significance of the St John the Divine kathisma is that the house is very probably contemporaneous with its church (dated by inscription to 1702, figs 224, 225), in which case, this small complex is among the few attested early examples which allow us to study the development of the kellia on this pattern[48]. The church is of the compressed cross-in-square type usual in these small units, with a blind dome without a drum and no narthex. It has wall-paintings of 1702, an interesting wooden screen and old stalls. The house has two storeys; on the ground floor there is a spacious vestibule, providing access to the church, to a room to the west and to the upper floor, where there are three more rooms to the south of a corridor. The western extremity of the house is most probably a later addition, which was subsequently altered and then fell into disrepair. Illus. 24 shows a reconstruction of this part in the two-storey loggia form which it most probably had.

At the *farm land of Dontas,* where Simonopetra borders on the property of the Xeropotamou Monastery, stands an interesting group of more recent buildings, with a house and outhouses (fig. 223 and illus. 11, 12). The main building (1856) has two storeys and contains a church, dedicated to St Nicholas. A large house is attached to the west, and it provided accommodation for the monk-steward and a large number of seasonal labourers. The other buildings are a smaller two-storey structure, erected in 1927 (containing winepresses, boilers for making raki and labourers' accommodation) and a stable which is today in ruins. This farm has belonged to Simonopetra since the time of Ioannis Uglješa, who, in fact, bought it for the Monastery[49]. It was probably this farm which is described in the following extract from a *'vakıfnâme'* (Turkish deed of formation of a charity) of 1569: *"A house... containing a stable, a winestore, a vineyard, an olive grove, and a fountain"* [50]. Of these earlier buildings, however, nothing can be seen today, with the exception of various wooden constructional members, which were re-used and incorporated into the 1927 building. Among them, we can recognise a wooden capital, dating from the early Turkish period (illus. 22)[51]. The 1927 building is a striking example of the way in which traditional modes of construction survived to very late dates. The main building is a typical example of the architecture of its time; it is sturdily constructed and there are very interesting morphological details in both the church and the house (hewn doorframes, ceilings, etc., figs 227, 240, 241). It has retained its old form and atmosphere unspoilt.

Ayios Dimitrios, higher up the mountainside, is a smaller kathisma, with similar functions (containing a church and a house for the woodcutters), built in 1923, using traditional techniques. A few minutes away to the south west of this is the *voros*, an approximately circular dry-stone enclosure, which is said to have been used for the raising of bulls (illus. 25). High up on the summit ridge, just a few metres below the 'Bey's Road' —that is, the cobbled mule-path which runs from one end of the promontory to the other— is the *kourtzidiko*, a single-storey building with one room, dating from the mid 19th century (and in ruins today), which provided those who worked in or patrolled the forest with shelter and accommodation.

Its plan shows with clarity and austerity the type of the broad-fronted house with loggia in its simplest form (illus. 13).

The imposing *group of buildings* owned by Simonopetra *at Dafni* (illus. 32) constitutes today what might be called the Monastery's arsanas, since it is from there that communication with the outside world takes place. According to a manuscript map of 1878, there was then only one building in that part of Dafni which belongs to Simonopetra, probably the small older house which has survived today in the middle of the complex. However, a few years later, the area developed; large buildings were put up in a short time and produced a significant income for the Monastery. The most important of these is the big three-storey building immediately on the sea-front, which was constructed in two, probably closely successive, building phases, up to 1896, when its northern part, with the church, was completed (fig. 226)[52]. The southern mass of the building contains storehouses on the ground floor and a number of rooms on the other two, opening left and right off a corridor in the shape of a cross, with a staircase on its eastern arm. Its northern part is reminiscent, in its western facade, of certain late types of arsanas (e.g., Yiovantsa) and has a boat-house on its ground floor. It is, however, dominated by the bulk of the church of All Saints (on the top floor), with the result that the whole of the eastern part which it occupies gives the impression of a two-storey church. This building, which must have been built by the same gangs of builders as the new eastern wing of the Monastery (which was constructed immediately afterwards, in 1879-1902), housed the *"the agency and post office for Russian steamships"* and the *"konaki, that is, the stopping place of the Russian Skete of St Andrew in Karyes, for a rent of 200 Ottoman pounds per annum"*[53].

Human Spatial Organisation in the Area of the Monastery

P. Theocharidis

The monasteries of Mt Athos were land-owners of importance thanks to their numerous *metochia* off the Mountain, from which most of their revenue derived. The metochia were managed by monk-wardens, who resided in them.

The monasteries themselves were built like fortresses (in accordance with a general plan of spatial organisation which had crystallised as far back as the Early Byzantine period), combining the monastic requirement of isolation from the world with the need to protect the foundation's wealth and, indeed, its very existence. Outside the walls, a whole range of activities developed (together with the installations and buildings required for them), some to meet the living requirements of the monks and the labourers and others to maintain the fabric of the building. Thus there were vegetable gardens, orchards, mills, sheds, cisterns, fountains, fishermen's houses, smithies, carpenter's shops and other workshops of all kinds, houses for the labourers, and stables. On the edge of each unit —often the size of a small village— was the cemetery, with its own chapel.

The area owned by each monastery within the promontory contained agricultural activities (vine yards, olive groves, groves of hazel-trees and commercial forests), each of which had the installations necessary for working it, depending on its importance and its distance from the monastery. Within this area, there are also a number of small farming units in various places, each with its chapel and house: these are the *kathismata* and *kellia*, which are worked either by the monastery itself or farmed by 'dependent' monks, on terms, as life concessionaries.

In the past, most communications between these points and the outside world passed through the arsanas, the monastery's outlet to the sea. Each arsanas had its *karavostasio*, a large building where the monastery boat was kept. The arsanas also had sheds and, as a rule,

a fortified tower to provide protection. Since it was much easier to transport goods by sea, there were stone-built jetties or arsanades at other points along the promontory —for example, where it was convenient to load timber for export— and many of the metochia were also similarly equipped. In the hinterland of the Athos promontory, everything was carried on the backs of beasts of burden; the Athonite terrain and the nature of the old cobbled 'roads' made the use of carts almost impossible. Felled trees were pulled down the wooded slopes by oxen. Along the mule-paths were shrines or stopping-places, usually close to the monasteries (in positions where the foot-traveller gained his first view of the main buildings) or at important crossroads and forks[1].

The Simonopetra area differs from this general organisational pattern to the slight extent dictated by the particular nature of its steep terrain. As soon as the amazing plan of founding the Monastery on top of its rock, in the midst of an area which was more generally difficult of access, was put into effect, the disposition of the ancillary buildings around it was also, indirectly, determined: they would stand only on sites where it was possible to build them. This makes Simonopetra different from all the other monasteries on Mt Athos. Only the organisation of Dionysiou[2] and, to a lesser extent, Aghiou Pavlou in its earlier form can be compared to it, and they stand in areas which are much easier to reach.

The map of the Simonopetra area shows the disposition of the principal productive sections of the possessions (the forests with their paths to the sea, the sawmill where timber was worked, the fields and buildings at Dontas). Also shown are the locations of the productive activities auxiliary to building work: the brick-making unit (*touvlario)* on the mountainside (marked on a manuscript map as early as 1878) and the lime kilns by the cobbled path from the Monastery to the arsanas. Adjacent to each lime kiln is a cistern.

In pre-industrial cultures, human activity was entirely dependent on the particular conditions and rhythms of the natural environment. This dependence can be seen clearly in the organisation of buildings in spatial terms, both at the planning stage and when they were being constructed. The conditions for the production of commodities —for life itself, even—demanded daily study of environmental factors and that man should feel a mental and emotional bond with his environment. This, together with the practical difficulties of carrying out large-scale projects, made essential what could be called a 'natural' option, according to which the more difficult the task was, the wiser those who undertook to put it into effect would have to be. The master craftsmen and architects were frequently applied scientists of wide learning, and it may have been that they comprehended the functioning of the world through overall and ordered models of those functions. In Simonopetra, the master craftsmen of the 14th century took a perpendicular rock protruding from a steep mountainside and built the Monastery around its summit; they directed the water into channels and predetermined the future development and life of the foundation. In the mid 19th century, their successors expanded the complex outside its original walls, erecting a towering, narrow extension in which rooms, staircases and corridors were deployed with admirable skill around the rocky masses incorporated into the building[3].

Interventions on the landscape were also dictated in the past by the level of the technical means available. Today, building and transport is the work of large-scale machinery which needs extensive flat surfaces: otherwise, its use is unprofitable or even impossible. As a result, it is inevitable that today the trend should be for large flat surfaces to emerge everywhere —even in the fields, where slopes are levelled out to allow crops to be worked by machine. In old photographs, on the other hand, we can see human chains working with pickaxes and spades, strung out across the relief of the landscape, gouging out or filling in the surface of the ground to create roads, winding mule-paths, the beds for foundations or terraces on which crops could be grown. Thus the economy of limited available means was largely responsible for determining the extent and nature of human intervention, the results of which, for precisely the same reason, did not usually stray far from the masses of the landscape in its natural condition. In the case of Simonopetra, given the position selected for the Monastery and also the ease of sea transport as opposed to overland movement in those days, the arsanas and its steep mule-track, involving a tiring ascent of 30-45 minutes to the Monastery (figs 42, 44) were the most reasonable —that is to say, the most economical—solutions for their time. By modern

standards, on the other hand, the building of a road from this arsanas to the Monastery would be totally inexpedient: movement of goods into the Monastery is much easier from a different direction, and this has already taken practical shape in the construction of the road from Dafni. As soon as the road link entered operation, the arsanas was abandoned.

Today it is a commonplace to say that the buildings of the past had a way of fitting harmoniously into their natural environment. One very significant factor (over and above the points already made about the traditional manner of human intervention) was the close relationship between these buildings and nature in terms of their structural organisation and external appearance. In other words, traditional static engineering reflected the statics of natural masses (the masses stand exactly as they appear to stand, without invisible internal reinforcement which would reduce the cross-sections), and the materials with which the buildings were constructed were taken, in their entirety, from the body of earth.

Today our immediate environment is organised in ways which are radically different; the stage of copying (or directly applying) the natural ways has long been left behind. Day by day a new 'environment', with different rhythms, is developing and establishing itself, one which substitutes for the natural environment, with a tendency to replace and disturb its structure. Since, then, our own individual development now takes place within this new context, we feel our scope for a more direct, personal dialogue with the former narrowing, though this nonetheless constitutes a structural feature of our make-up. It would seem to be for these reasons that we are fascinated by the characteristics which we ascribe to the personality of traditional man, and it is perhaps in the need for a revaluation of the latter that we can identify one of the dimensions of the complex contemporary concept of the protection of the cultural values of the past which is developing in parallel in today's world.

Water Supply - Irrigation - Water Power

S. Nomikos

All permanent human habitation on Mt Athos, whether, on a large scale (monastery, *skete*) or a smaller scale (*kelli, kathisma,* retreat, *konaki),* depended on the availability of water and the existence of land which could be farmed. These requirements also had to be met for the basic auxiliary buildings of the monasteries (mills, olive presses, stabling facilities for livestock, brick kilns, lime kilns, etc)[1].

The first step was to find water. The survival of the monastic community then depended on the solution of a number of basic problems: how to increase the usable quantities, how to keep the supply flowing, how to move the water and store it, how to ensure that it reached the points where it was needed, and how to use it in a rational manner. In order to ensure that survival, extensive construction work was required, often on a large scale. To maintain the supply, the natural outlets and springs had to be suitably reshaped, drilling might be required, and there would have to be underground passages, weirs, fountains and wells. To move the water, conduits would be needed (open and closed, long and short), together with aqueducts and passages. For storage, there would be closed cisterns for drinking water and open tanks for irrigation. For distribution, networks operating with valves and smaller conduits or pipes would be required, and to filter the water sand sumps and drains would have to be constructed. The number, size and quality of the structures of this kind on Mt Athos demonstrates a high level of knowledge of hydrological work and testifies to the presence of experienced and expert craftsmen. The care with which the work was done shows the respect which the monastic communities felt for their water[2]. Also of importance is the trouble taken to ensure that hydraulic energy was used to operate water-powered machinery[3]. Almost all the large monastic units had their own water-mills[4], and there were water-powered sawmills, olive

Fig. 31 The entrance to the Monastery (p. 78).

Fig. 32 The Monastery from the north with the aqueduct and the oil press building (p. 78).

Fig. 33 Looking down on the Monastery from the east.

Fig. 34 The Monastery from the west; in the background is the mass of Mt Athos.

Fig. 35, 36 The Monastery from the south west.

→

Fig. 38 The Monastery from the south; in the foreground are the terraces of the garden.

Fig. 37 The Monastery from the north; in the background is the Gulf of the Holy Mountain.
←

Fig. 39 The workers' house with the smithy; the cemetery is in the background (p. 84).

Fig. 40 *'Simopetra with its lofty tower'. The central tower, the oldest, and the two additions are visible (pp. 77, 78, 82).*

Fig. 41 *The Monastery with its three towers from the south east, with the workers' house in the foreground and the aqueduct in the background to the right (pp. 82, 83).*

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Fig. 42 The arsanas with the Monastery high above (pp. 84, 87).

Fig. 43 The tower of the arsanas.

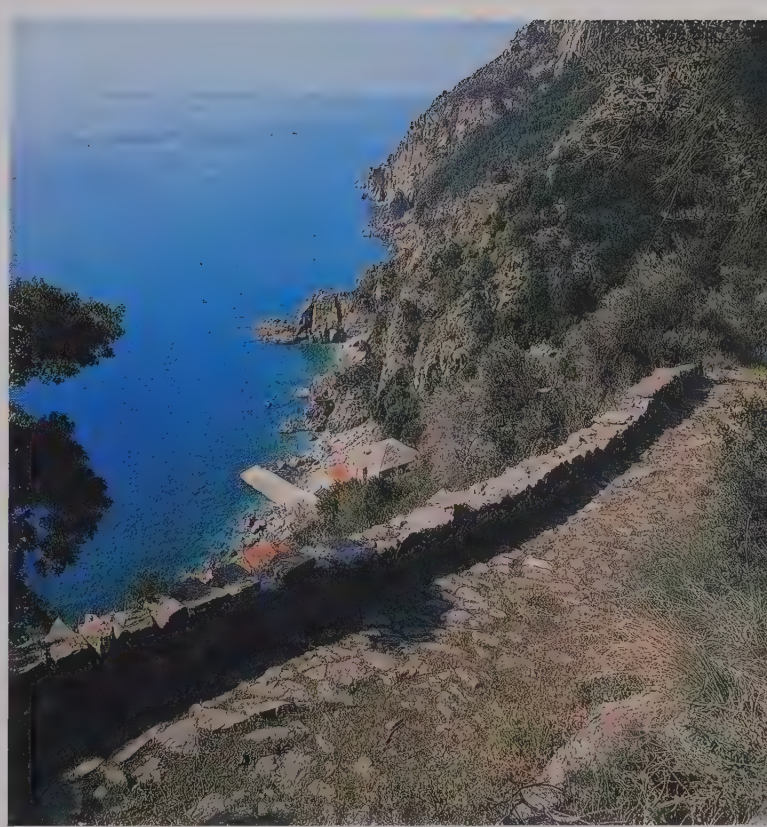


Fig. 44 The cobbled mule path leading from the arsanas to the Monastery (p. 87).

Fig. 45 The first floor of the tower of the arsanas (p. 84).

Fig. 46 The second floor of the tower of the arsanas (p. 85).

presses and fulling mills at Ayia Anna. Most of this equipment was still in service in the early years of the second half of the 20th century.

The western side of the Mt Athos peninsula has always had less water than the east coast. In recent years, efforts to pump and collect the water by means of a series of modern construction projects, in conjunction with a drop in rainfall, have caused many 'historic' springs to run dry, have led to considerable reductions in the quantity of water welling up at certain points, and have meant that some seasonal rivers now never have water at all. A shortage of water has often lain behind efforts to exploit the natural flow in a linear fashion, with the same quantity of water being used successively for a number of installations and activities before its ultimate use in watering the vegetable plots or before it runs into the sea. Simonopetra is a typical case of this: high up on the hillside, the water turned the sawmill; then, from the reservoir in the river-bed above the Monastery, some of it was led off to the water-mill (and the aqueduct), from the mill to the olive press and from there to the cisterns[5].

The problem of supplying the main buildings of Simonopetra and the outlying installations with water was a very old one, and it was solved with the construction of the aqueduct[6] whose size has impressed travellers and other writers who mentioned the Monastery at various times in its history[7]. The dam of the reservoir (fig. 255, illus. 28) has survived intact in the river-bed above the water-mill; from there, the water was filtered through a vertical grille before entering a closed conduit lined with fired clay tiles (illus. 29) built into the top of a wall some three metres in height and being led towards the Monastery installations. Level with the water-mill was the first distribution valve, to supply the mill cistern (which could also be filled from a channel from the river-bed), and the conduit then ran down to the large main valve at the end of the aqueduct. Here the water could be turned in any of three directions. The principal course led along the conduit built on the top of the aqueduct (fig. 218) to the cisterns inside the Monastery; to the north, lead pipes carried the water to the modern wash-house (and in earlier times, it seems likely, to a tank), and to the south a conduit ran in the direction of the vordonario. In this direction we do not today know its ultimate destination.

Inside the Monastery, six cisterns have been identified which could be filled from the aqueduct, from other channels or by rainwater. When the rubble used to fill in the basement of the old east wing was being removed, traces were discovered of a cistern whose existence had been unknown but which, in all probability, is the oldest in the Monastery complex. The largest cistern is in the foundations of the new wing of 1902 (the Abbot's quarters); it is roofed with parallel low brick vaults resting on iron beams[8]. The mouth of the third cistern can be seen outside the door of the old library, and it has a second outlet inside the copper smithy. The fourth cistern lies beneath the *katholikon,* on the roof of the infirmary; the fifth is located outside the south transept of the katholikon, in front of the refectory, and the sixth and last is in the courtyard behind the sanctuary of the katholikon. It bears a plaque dating it to 1904 (fig. 220). In the corridor of the infirmary there was a much smaller open cistern, in which were kept the leeches used in treatment. The main cistern for the vegetable gardens (dating from the 17th century), a brick structure decorated with arches, has survived: it stands near the vordonario, on the level of the external courtyard and touching the aqueduct, from the overflow of which it was filled.

After turning the wheel of the water-mill, the water was expelled and then led back towards the Monastery in a conduit running parallel to the cobbled mule-path. The first two distribution valves (under the bridge on the road) supplied the cisterns for watering the upper gardens. The first valve was also used to turn the water back into the river-bed when it was not needed. The third valve took water to the wheel of the olive-press, and the fourth supplied water to the interior of the olive-press buildings, for the needs of the work done there. The fifth and largest valve, at the corner of the wash-house, sent water to the vordonario, to the lower cisterns inside the Monastery and, lastly, to another valve towards the lower part of the olive-press buildings, where it joined the water which had turned the wheel. From this point (under the garden steps) the water ran to the tank inside the new wing and to cisterns for watering. The current condition of the conduit, which has not been used for years, does not permit the whole supply network to be studied. There may have been another valve before the water reached the wash-house taking water into a small tank (of which the traces can still be

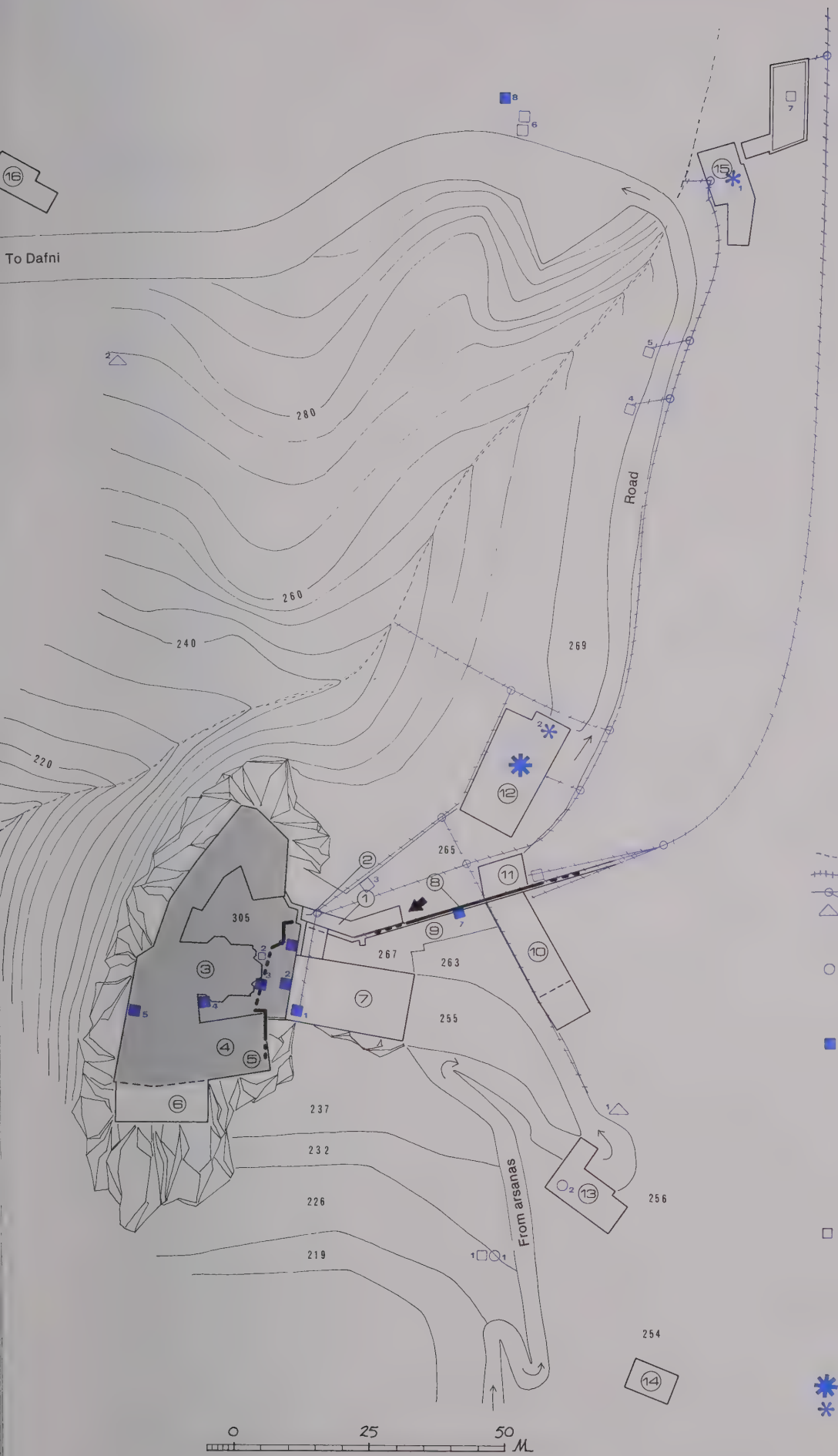
made out) and to a lime-pit at the foot of the aqueduct. There may also have been another small cistern beneath the olive-press wheel.

The Monastery's lower vegetable gardens are laid out in the form of high, parallel, curved terraces. On each terrace there is a conduit with a valve, for watering (illus. 31). From the valve, the water could be sent down irrigation channels to water the terrace or into the conduit of the terrace below. The upper gardens, which covered a much smaller area, were watered along channels from cisterns.

The water-powered sawmill was always portable. Movement of the tree trunks was impossible, given the means available and the road network of the time, and so the water-powered sawmill to cut up the timber was assembled wherever the logging happened to be going on. When the sawmill had to be moved, only the iron components (the blades, rings, pulleys, etc.) and the wooden parts which were light enough to carry or whose replacement would be costly or time-consuming (the wheel, the water pipes, etc.) were dismantled and moved to the new position. The 'old sawmill of Filippas' was the last water-powered sawmill to operate in the Simonopetra area (it ceased functioning soon after 1950), and for that reason it was left where it was and was not dismantled. It is a massive and impressive wooden device in a state of advanced rot. All the iron components, heavily rusted, are still in place, as are the wheel (fig. 253), the whole wooden frame, some sections of the wooden pipe along which water was brought from the spring, and the ramp down which the tree-trunks were slid.

The Monastery water-mill (illus. 27) is of the 'eastern' or 'Greek' type, with a horizontal wheel (fig. 254) located below the milling floor. The upper storey of the building contains the quarters of the monk-miller and store-rooms for the flour. The cistern (fig. 216) has two compartments for filtering purposes and the massive stone mill-tower (fig. 217) has a large square opening at the top which becomes a small round hole at the bottom. Inside the cistern are blocks of stone built into the masonry, which could be used as steps if it was necessary to enter the cistern. The mill-stones have survived (in the courtyard) and the wheel is still in position. A second water outlet creates the suspicion that the mill originally had two pairs of millstones, a view supported by the size of the cistern, which is far too large for a mill with only one pair of stones[9]. According to a Monastery inventory, the foundations of the building which contained the olive-press (illus. 7), the grape press and the raki still were laid in 1851. This stone building consists of a basement, a ground floor and an upper storey, topped with a roof pitched four ways. The working areas were on the ground floor, and the upper storey was used as accommodation for the labourers and to store the olives. The olive press was worked with a large upright metal wheel on the outside of the building; this has survived, but has fallen into its trough (fig. 252). From the wheel, a horizontal shaft transmitted the drive inside the building (fig. 219). In recent years the olive press has been modernised and only a few of the original components remain (according to reports, the water-powered press worked on the Francis system). In earlier times, a wooden extension to this building housed a smaller water-mill driven by the same wheel, where high-quality flour for the altar breads was produced. This was later converted into a hand-operated mill.

Water outlets are scattered all over the wooded area of the Monastery possessions, usually running into one or other of the stream-beds. The most important of these outlets are at Kleftoneria[10], Nisakia[11], on the 'road to the springs' (whose water was incorporated into the new aqueduct), and the Nera tou Xenia[12]. Of the other springs within the boundaries of Simonopetra, the best-known were Kokkinos[13] (of which a brick arch has survived), the 'nero tou Igoumenou'[14], Sanida[15], Platanakia[16], the 'kopana tou Sklithrou'[17], the Plystres[18], Oxya[19] (at the 'kalyva' of Apostolis), Bousdoumi[20], the 'dry spring at Sklithro', the 'dry spring at the brick-kiln', Minas, the 'old sawmill' and 'the sawmill', the Docheiaritikon[21], Kalamitsi[22], Kalamitsaki[23], two springs on the way to Dontas and on the large terrace of the olive grove above the arsanas. There were numerous springs around the Monastery: the "upper holy water of St Simon" (illus. 36), on the path to the'old sawmill', with a deep stone-built channel and a basin; the "lower holy water of St Simon" (fig. 37), at a lower level, with a small vaulted basin; the spring at the ruined 'kalyva' of Alypios, where a shaft had been sunk vertically into a crack in the rock; the 'garden spring', from which Ilarion, the Monastery's apothecary, watered his little garden of medicinal herbs; the "spring at the labourer's house", with a



LEGEND

Thick lines: structures from the late Byzantine period: the eastern boundary of the enceinte at that time, and the first phase of the aqueduct. Grey shading: the extent of the older nucleus of the enceinte (late 16th - 17th century).
Blue colour: water supply system.

1. *Covered entrance passage*
2. *Site of the old gate and small towerlike structure above it*
3. *Katholikon*
4. *Refectory*
5. *Chapel of St George*
6. *New building, 1862-1864*
7. *New building, 1897-1902*
8. *Aqueduct*
9. *Cistern*
10. *Stable*
11. *Old wash-house*
12. *Olive press building*
13. *Smithy and labourer's house*
14. *Cemetery chapel*
15. *Water mill*
16. *'Kathisma' of St Simon*

Stream bed
Man-made channels (open or covered)
Valve
Spring with water welling up
1. *'Barskij's'*
2. *Alypios*

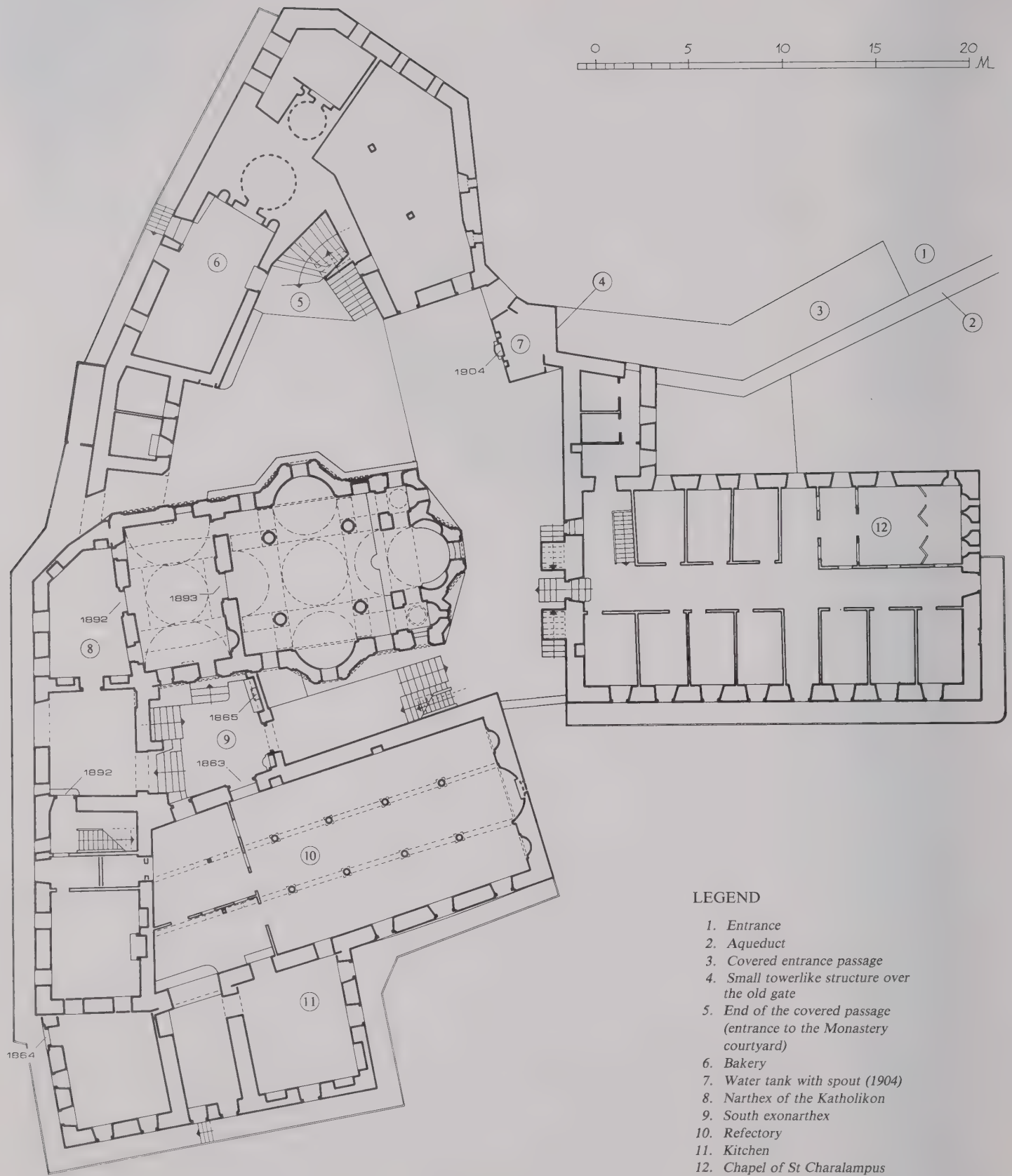
Spring
1. *On the great terrace of the gardens*
2. *In the foundations of the labourers' house*

Covered cisterns
1. *In the foundations of the new wing*
2. *In the basement of the old wing (traces)*
3. *Infirmary passageway*
4. *Outside the refectory*
5. *Old library-bakirtzidiko*
6. *Courtyard*
7. *Old central cistern for the gardens*
8. *St Simon*

Open cisterns
1. *Great garden terrace*
2. *For the leeches for the infirmary*
3. *Garden*
4. *Upper gardens*
5. *Upper gardens*
6. *St Simon*
7. *Watermill*

Olive-press
Watermill
1. *For flour*
2. *For altar breads*

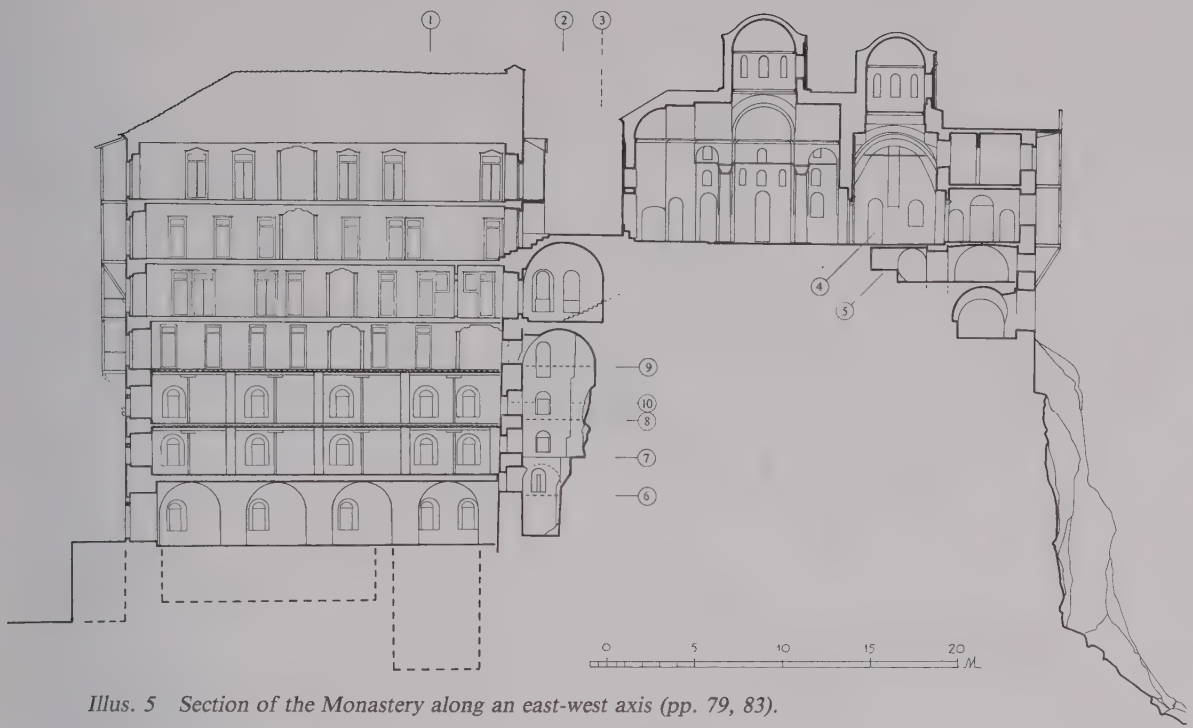
Illus. 3 Topographical sketch of the Monastery and its immediate surroundings. Growth of the building complex over time (pp. 77, 78, 79, 84).



LEGEND

1. *Entrance*
2. *Aqueduct*
3. *Covered entrance passage*
4. *Small towerlike structure over the old gate*
5. *End of the covered passage (entrance to the Monastery courtyard)*
6. *Bakery*
7. *Water tank with spout (1904)*
8. *Narthex of the Katholikon*
9. *South exonarthex*
10. *Refectory*
11. *Kitchen*
12. *Chapel of St Charalampus*

Illus. 4 Floor plan of the Monastery at the courtyard level, with the dates of the inscriptions (pp. 77, 78).



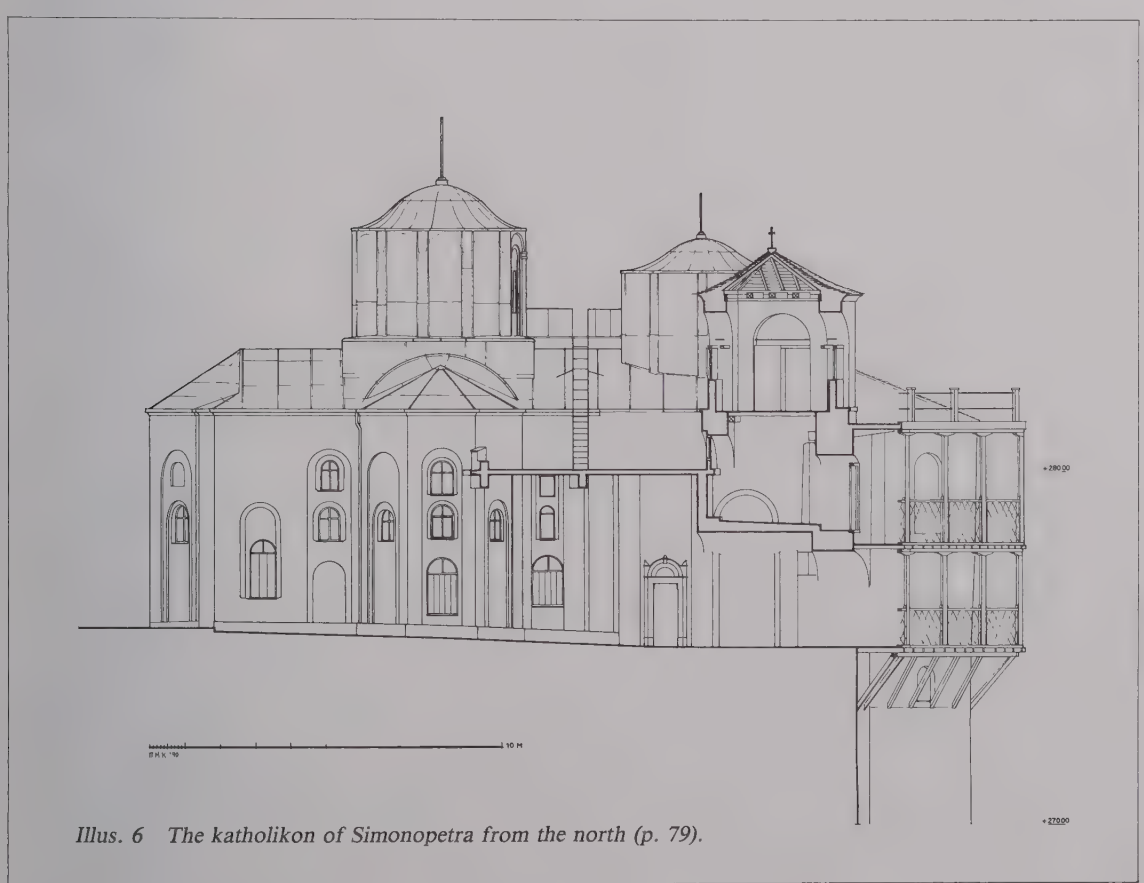
Illus. 5 Section of the Monastery along an east-west axis (pp. 79, 83).

LEGEND

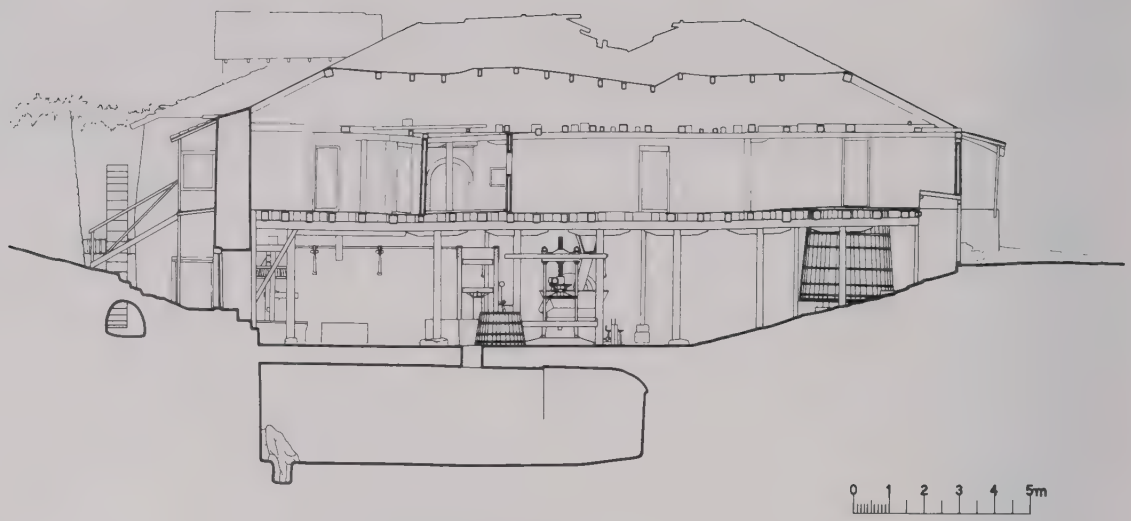
1. *The new east wing (1897-1902)*
2. *The east wing of the older nucleus*
3. *The east boundary of the Byzantine enceinte*
4. *The 'lite' of the Katholikon*
5. *The inner room of the Docheion*

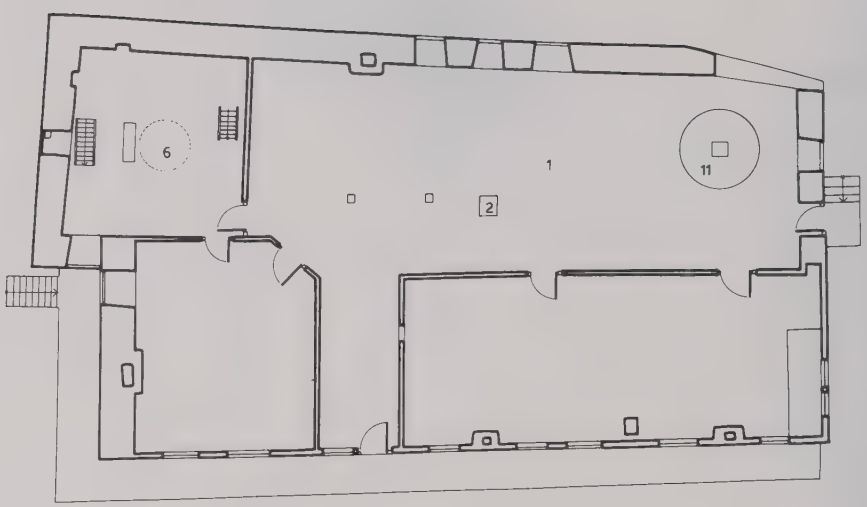
6-9. *The position of the wooden floors of the east wing of the older nucleus*

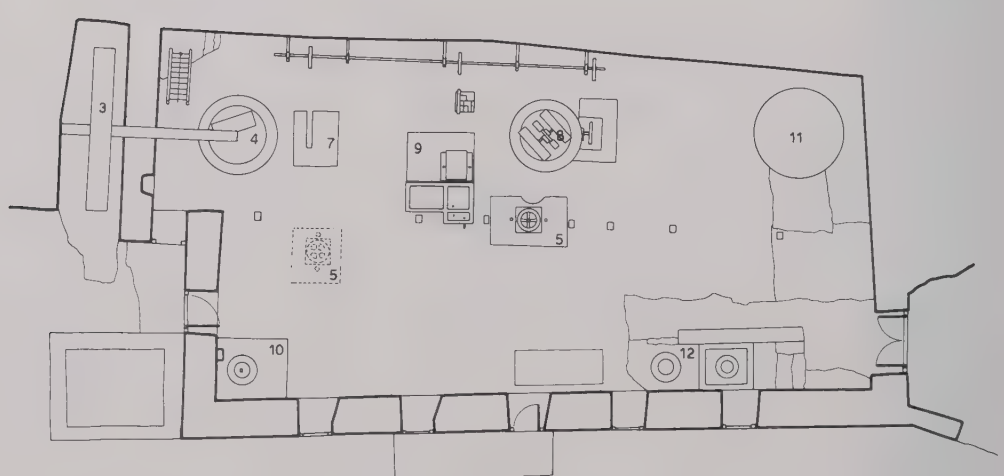
10. *The level of the rubble filling after the 1891 fire*



Illus. 6 The katholikon of Simonopetra from the north (p. 79).







LEGEND

1. *Olive storage*
2. *Trap-door*
3. *Wheel*
4. *Mill*
5. *Press*
6. *Altar bread flour mill*
7. *Oil engine*
8. *Mill*
9. *Hydraulic press*
10. *Boiler*
11. *Wine vat*
12. *Raki still*

Illus. 7 Section and plans of the olive-press (see note 54 and pp. 84, 106).

vaulted entrance from the outside and a well-mouth in its basement; the "spring on the big terrace" (illus. 30) in the lower Monastery gardens, which has a small elliptical cistern, and, lastly, the spring on the way down to the arsanas which is known as 'Barskij's spring' because it can be seen, in the form it had at the time, in his drawing (fig. 7).

The independent buildings and outposts of the Monastery had their own springs and supply installations. The kelli of St Simon was supplied from the Holy Trinity spring, the 'upper holy water' and a little spring outside its precinct, where there is a cistern for watering the gardens. There was also a closed cistern there, but this was demolished when the new road was being built. In the rocks above the kathisma of the Holy Trinity traces of a very old water tank can be seen; we do not know how this tank was filled or what it was used for, since the kathisma is a modern one and has its own water supply in the form of a small spring. Approximately 250 metres above the kathisma of Our Lady is a small spring whose water was led through piping (now overgrown) to a cistern. Close to the buildings there is another and older cistern, which may have been for rain-water.

There are four cisterns at and around the arsanas. The first is in the foundations of the tower, and served its needs; the mouth is on the ground floor, inside the entrance. The second, which is uncovered, is on the cobbled mule-path adjacent to the tower. The third, a covered cistern, is in the 'lotus garden', on the left as we climb up to the Monastery, and was used for watering the garden. The fourth cistern, also covered, is next to the mule-path near the lime kiln. Under the charcoal-burner's house is an interior well. Beneath the kelli at the kathisma of St John the Divine, water wells up from the bottom of a crack in the rock. A tunnel was built to facilitate the flow of water, together with a small internal tank from which the water was led along a short channel into the external and much larger horse-shoe-shaped tank lined with fired clay tiles (fig. 256). On the level of the kelli, above the interior cistern, is a wellmouth from which the cistern's water could be drawn up. Apart from supplying the kelli, this water was also used to irrigate the gardens. In the surrounding area, towards the Monastery, there was a conduit which collected the water from a small spring, and a cistern for watering in the olive grove.

The old skete of John the Baptist, of which only a few ruins have survived, took its water from the Sanida spring. In the stream-bed about 500 metres higher up, covered by thick vegetation, a dam some 3.5 metres in height has been discovered in excellent condition, and near it a spring from which a little water still flows. From this point, an aqueduct (i.e., a high wall with a channel built into its top) which has also survived in very good condition brought the water down to the skete, where, according to the Fathers, the remains of a water-tank could still be seen a few years ago. Beneath the old ruined house at the kathisma of Ayios Dimitrios there is a spring which has been built up using high-quality cornered stone and an interior vaulted basin. At the entrance to this farm, near the modern house, is a small contemporary covered cistern and a fountain with a large stone-built trough for the animals. Near the ruined kelli at the kathisma of St Modest, Kravasaras, and close to the labourer's house is a spring in a natural crack in the rock. Today, it produces no more than drops of water. An open channel to allow access to the water outlet seems to have been built in drystone, but the water seems always to have been in short supply, and for that reason a basin was built at ground level to collect it. The needs of the modern kelli are met with a covered tank indoors on its ground floor, filled by the water from the tiled roof.

The Dontas farm was the Monastery's largest, with extensive vineyards and a variety of other crops, and so efforts were made to make the most of all the natural water outlets. To the west of the house, at a distance of approximately 120 metres, is the first spring, which has a stone-built tunnel and two small communicating cisterns with drains and vaulted roofs (illus. 35). The water was led from here along pipes to the house, where there is a small modern cistern on the upper floor. The ground floor of the later extension contains an external open vaulted area which in former times was probably a cistern and trough for the livestock. Near the barrel-making shop was the 'upper spring', a fountain with a little cistern made of fired clay bricks and hewn stone, to which the water was brought from the spring along an open conduit. Next to this has survived a marble basin for washing clothes. Below the house to its south west is a large stone cistern with a borehole, where underground water was collected through a number

of inlets (illus. 34). In front of this is a fountain and a basin with a trough; the water supplies the house, to which it is raised by means of a system of wire ropes and pulleys[24].

Above the warden's quarters at Dafni, in the bed of the seasonal river which forms the natural boundary between Simonopetra and Xeropotamou, there is a dam with a sand sump from which water is led to the buildings along a lead pipe. In the area of the buildings themselves there are two wells, one on the ground floor of the Papayannis building, which is no longer used because proximity to the sea made the water brackish, and the other outside the modern sawmill building. This was used for watering the gardens. Next to the road there is a raised stone cistern with a vault and a tiled roof pitched in two directions (illus. 32). At the spring of the vault there is an inspection opening, and, on the side facing the road, an overflow with a pipe has been built into the masonry. This cistern is still used today (illus. 33).

The number of water supply facilities at the Monastery's konaki at Karyes is out of all proportion to the size of the property. All the facilities are in good condition: there is one spring (on the main road between the skete of St Andrew and the konaki), from which the water runs through a lofty arched stone-built underground aqueduct to the first cistern on Monastery property, eight wells (one at the spring on the main road, one in the entrance to the courtyard, one at St Minas, two at St Nicholas, two in the house 'of the Cross' and one lower down, which was demolished when the road to the eastern monasteries was built) and six cisterns (one by the aqueduct channel, one in the entrance to the courtyard, two next to the konaki —of which one has a two-pitched roof and the other a fountain and a trough beneath it— and two at St Nicholas).

The research work which was carried out in order to permit the preparation of this chapter revealed the need for a systematic investigation of the whole of Mt Athos and also the importance which such an investigation would have: it would produce the evidence necessary to trace the history of the hydrological works of earlier periods, a part of the history of the monastic community of which, today, we know nothing whatever[25].

The Metochia

I. Papaggelos

For the monasteries of Mt Athos, possession of *metochia* was a fundamental prerequisite for their very existence; although the metochia were administratively dependent on the monasteries, the monasteries were financially dependent on the metochia.

The first reference to the metochia of Simonopetra is to be found in the Uglješa chrysobull[1]. The founder, in his desire to secure for the Monastery a lasting source of income, bought and certified the purchase of large estates which, until their expropriation in around 1933, were its basic financial supports. Over the passage of time, the metochia were further extended, primarily by purchase but also by donation.

The *Petriotiko* metochi in Sithonia, which was probably the Monastery's oldest, lies in the upland area to the west of the modern village of Sykia, in Halkidiki (fig. 16). This was bought by Uglješa *"from Nikolaos the logariastes and from the local people for three hundred and thirty six nomismata"*[2]. In the chrysobull the area is described as being located *"in the parts of Longos"*[3]; it was called *"Vava"*[4] and was *"a winter place, where the animals of my monastery may be refreshed"*. Even today, the area is still mostly pasture-land and is used as winter grazing by the flocks of transhumant shepherds[5]. At various times during the history of the metochi disputes arose with the metochia of the Koutloumousiou and Pantokratoros Monasteries, with which it marched, and with the villagers of Sykia. When the lands, amounting to 415.3 hectares, were expropriated in 1932, the buildings of the metochi *"and an area 10 metres broad around them"*[6] were exempted.

The *Pliakos* metochi lay in the plain of Serres, to the east of the River Strymon, in the area

of the communities of Toumba and Pethelinos. It had belonged *"Master Georgios the Strategos and his brothers Nikolaos and Dimitrios"*, from whom Uglješa purchased it for 879 gold pieces and gave it to the Monastery. The chrysobull notes that the metochi contained a spring called *"biliakon"*[7], from which the metochi must have taken its name. Most of the area of the metochi (around 839 hectares in 1932) was suitable for cultivation, though a part of it was boggy. The area which was fit for crops was expropriated in 1932 and the remainder was sold shortly afterwards.

According to the Uglješa chrysobull, the Monastery had two metochia on the northern shore of the island of Lemnos: *Trygi* and *Petra*. It is not clear whether or not these lands were purchased by Uglješa. In 1797 the Iveron Monastery was recognised as the owner of the Trygi metochi, which Simonopetra bought a year later[8]. At the time of expropriation (1932), the area of this metochi was estimated at 1,200 hectares.

In 1589/90, the Monastery bought from Gazanfer Aga a large estate in Kassandra[9], to the south of Nea Potidaia. This metochi, known as *Petriotiko*, consisted of fields under crops and pasture land, and, at the time of expropriation, had an area of 1,078 hectares. The metochi church and the windmill were exempted from expropriation[10]. The *Kelli* metochi (*"of Father Dionysios"*), to the west of Valta (now known as Kassandreia) also belonged to the Kassandra metochi. The first reference to this farm is in a title deed of 1660/61[11], where it is described as having an area *"of about forty hectares"*. In the 1870s, it expanded through purchases and donations, and thus by the time it was expropriated its area had reached approximately 320 hectares[12].

There was another small metochi in the low-lying area around Sykia; known as *Livadi*, this had formed part of the large Megiste Laura estate in the 14th century, when it was known as *"Despotikon livadion"*[13]. Other Athonite monasteries had small areas of land in the same area. We have no information about the early history of this metochi, but it can be inferred from the Monastery archives that donations and purchases of small pieces of farmland took place in the 19th century, and primarily in the years 1861-1874. When it was expropriated, it had an area of 7 hectares[14].

The Xenophontos Monastery had an estate at *Vourvourou* in Sithonia, which had been donated to it by Basil II (976-1025)[15]. Xenophontos hung on to the Vourvourou property until at least 1338[16]. By 1614, this area (or a part of it) was in the possession of the villagers of Ayios Nikolaos, which, lying some eight kilometres from Vourvourou, seems to have sprung up on what had formerly been the property of Xenophontos. At this time, Simonopetra had a metochi very close to Ayios Nikolaos[17], but we can only speculate as to how this was acquired[18]. Since it was more convenient for the villagers to till the fields belonging to Simonopetra, which were close to Ayios Nikolaos, rather than the more distant lands at Vourvourou, they asked for—and were granted—an exchange[19]: in 1614 the Vourvourou lands came into the possession of Simonopetra. In 1763, when the Monastery was going through a very critical administrative and financial period, the Athonite community intervened to bring down Simonopetra's excessive debts and it was decided that the metochia of Kassandra, Thessaloniki and Vourvourou should be sold[20]. The Vourvourou metochi was bought by the villagers of Ayios Nikolaos, who had had designs on it for many years[21]. When the Monastery's financial position improved (in 1785), efforts began to regain control of Vourvourou[22], but the evidence which has come to light so far suggests that these were unsuccessful.

The *St Charalampus* metochi in Thessaloniki (illus. 38) lies to the east of the church of St Athanasius and to the north of Egnatia Ave., in Exadaktylou St. It was in the Monastery's possession at least as early as 1619[23]. In 1752, the Iveron Monastery laid claim to it, but the matter was settled by a document of agreement[24]. It is a typical Athonite urban metochi, whose principal purpose was to facilitate the monks of the Monastery whenever they were in Thessaloniki on monastic or personal business. It consists of the church of St Charalampus and a two-storey house with six rooms on each floor, a basement, a stable, a storeroom, large and small summer rooms, two more rooms, a fountain, a tank, a lavatory and a small courtyard. In 1812 an adjacent courtyard was purchased[25]. During the 19th century, the Bishopric of Thessaloniki attempted to gain control of St Charalampus, but without success[26]. Towards the end of the century, the metochi was rented out, though the Monastery retain the exclusive use of some of its rooms[27]. In 1905, a new church was built on the site of the earlier one,

which had fallen into disrepair[28]. The metochi, which has been restored and is a group of buildings unique of its type in Thessaloniki today, continues to be used by the Monastery for the purposes for which it was set up.

The Monastery has two metochia on the island of Siphnos: those of *St Artemius* and *St Antypas*. The church of St Artemius at Apollonia was dedicated to the Monastery by its founder, the priest-monk Ieremias, who was a member of the brotherhood of Simonopetra[29]. During the period in which Greece was ruled by Count Capodistrias, a school was built in the courtyard of the metochi and it is still in use today[30].

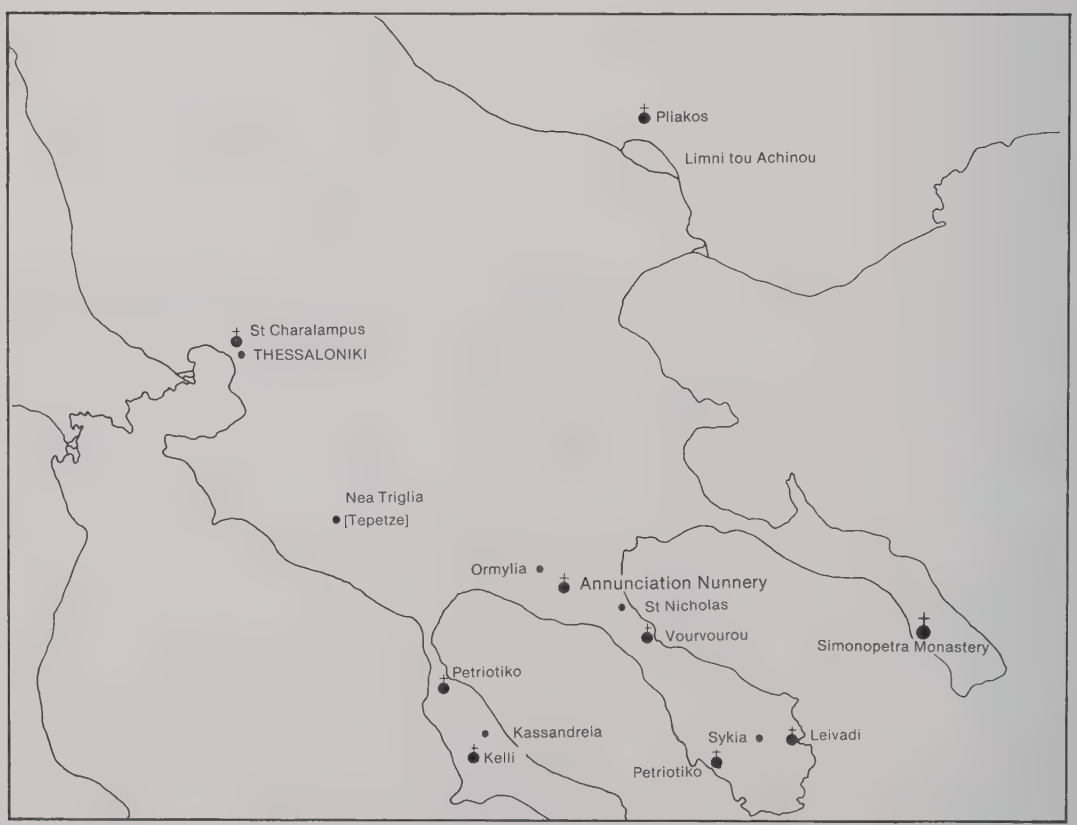
The Monastery's metochi in Athens, dedicated to the *Ascension,* (fig. 264) stands on the pine-clad hill of the Vyron district of the city (at 5 Myraktis St) and has belonged to Simonopetra since 1908[31]. The Thessaloniki and Athens metochia are centres of unceasing liturgical life and meeting-places for the friends of Mt Athos.

The *Nunnery of the Annunciation* (fig. 262) was formed on the basis of the unexpropriated parts of the Vatopedi metochi at Ormylia in Halkidiki, which were bought by Simonopetra in 1974. Today, it houses a numerous female community and is one of Greece's most notable monastic foundations, with work of importance in the spiritual, social and artistic fields.

In recent years, three new metochia have been founded in France. These new dependencies are proof of the reputation of Simonopetra, and they have carried the flame of the Athonite spirit into Western Europe.

Apart from the metochia to which we have referred above, Simonopetra also possessed certain others, which it lost for unknown reasons. The most important of these were at Koumoutziana, consisting of land inherited by Uglješa and donated by him to the Monastery in his chrysobull[32], and another at Kalamaria in Halkidiki[33].

To conclude, we should not overlook the famous metochi of Mihail-Voda in Bucharest, which was dedicated around 1566 and confiscated by the Romanian Government in 1863[34].



Illus. 8 Map of the metochia of Simonopetra.

MONASTIC LIFE

The House of God and the Gate of Heaven

Archim. Aimilianos

A. The Root (instead of a foreword)

The volume *Simonopetra* serves as a guide to a whole world —a world vibrant with human life, and at the same time of fervent monastic endeavour, in a monastery.

In a monastery everything is very simple and human, and yet at the same time divine and a revelation. People and things make up a way of life which is inexplicable by the criteria of this world, a company of individuals who are bearers of light. But this emerges as a living mystery of the world to come, a daily experience of the monk, an initiatory preoccupation and journey, within and without earth and heaven.

The monks in their monastery, in which they are sojourners, have a natural life and daily association, but as if from a single starting-point they set forth each day in order to achieve an 'ascent;', to make their own the life of the company of the Saints and the beloved eschatological city, the Jerusalem which is above, the Church, the Kingdom of God. *"And I saw a new heaven and a new earth... And... the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband... Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men"* (Revelation 21:1-3). This prefiguration has meaning for us: it interprets the monastery. This is life and a way of life, it is an institution which reconciles all things. All is made ready by God for that unique achievement, the 'dwelling together', the marriage of God and man. It is communion, a 'logos' and manner, which are profound, of life employed according to God. It is *"the house of God, and... the gate of heaven"* (Genesis 28:1). It is the house of the presence of man and, here and now, the house of God, where at the same time both the place and the eschatological orientation are lived. 'Dwelling together' in the 'city' does not look towards the taking on of wordly and ideological aims, but to the life of the spirit, which consists in spiritual exercise and a mystical gaze fixed upon God. This city-monastery is like a workshop in which the conditions are carefully chosen and measured and the objectives are not concerned with any *desideratum,* but with the Desired One, God Himself who descends from heaven and dwells precisely here, within the human vessel of each one of us.

This conviction of the monks is a tradition going deep into time and a foundation for life, a reality, experienced to a greater or lesser degree, transcending the normal conduct of men and becoming that of angels. The monks, as men, have their weaknesses, their wrestlings with self, their race to run, their falls from grace and their rising up again, but they do not flinch; on the contrary, they feel, even now, through this toiling, that today they are of the fellowship of the martyrs and tomorrow will sit down together with all the Saints. Thus the walls of the city-monastery do not shut out the horizons: on the contrary, they open up vistas of illumination and gates to heaven.

Let us look, then, first at this tree of life, with its abundant shade and sap, the tree of the monastic life.

B. The Tree (The monastic life)

The monastic life is, to a certain extent, without a genealogy. The model for monastic perfection is the life around the Throne and in the heavenly world of God of the angels, even before the creation of the visible world. It traces back its ancestry to a beginning eastward in Eden, from that paradisal communion of the child with the Father, which, alas, became through sin a pitiful wreckage awaiting the first tidings of redemption. Thus monasticism has its starting-point in life in Paradise and is itself the most perfect recovery of that Paradise.

In the Old Testament, God prepared fallen man through His Son. Thus He revealed His face to man: that He is One God with the Father and the Holy Spirit, and at the same time His hypostatic communion, admitting of no separation, as God with men.

Christ in this way liberated man from his slavery, gave him the Church, baptism and all the sacraments of the Church. And, for the greater and more ready scope for joy, peace and enrichment with holy gifts and divine life, He 'built' in the world a world outside the world -monasticism. Through this, man, made from dust, rivals the angels and sits down with them, conversing, as much as in him lies, with God.

In Judaism and the Gentile world, especially in Egypt, there were, earlier, shadowy forms of monasticism.

In the Old Testament, holy men prefigured the monastic life: the prophets Moses and Elijah, John the Baptist and Forerunner, who dwelt *"in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth"*. These monks, deserving of admiration, the prophet Isaiah saw and prophesied of as birds who gaze at the heights, those who are *"more wise"* than the many (St Gregory the Theologian, PG 36:553), the world's champions in valour: *"I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, which shall never hold their peace day nor night: ye that make mention of the Lord, keep not silence"* (Isaiah 62:6). Thus, in the strongholds of the Church, God has set as watchmen day and night, in His confidence and to their honour, these winged warriors and noble ascetics with many eyes, who without ceasing hymn and gaze upon the Lord of glory. The monastery is, anyway, as we have said, a copy of Jerusalem, the eschatological city of God. In the early Church, the love feasts, the shared meals, the communion of the Apostles in Jerusalem and the apostolic communities were, again, foreshadowings of the monastic life.

Monasticism found within the Church models of an ideal and wonderful way of life and spirit, older anchorites and hermits who remained 'uncorrupt', 'virgins', and accomplished mighty feats. From such sprang, as a ripe fruit now matured, the monastic life, which was born in the East in the time of St Constantine and was disseminated as a universal pattern. Virginity, spiritual exercise, fasting, the coenobitic life, obedience, poverty and the general spiritual armoury of these eagles winging aloft graced the Church with the finest attributes and the greatest renown. Ordinary folk, the poor, the rich, sinners, saints, patriarchs, kings— all called upon these citizens of heaven, men and women, as blessed, fleshless, totally liberated, living as angels, most godlike; they loved them, honoured them and drew close to them with glory and longing, as, chiefly, 'soldiers' of Christ. Ever since, monasticism has remained and lives on as *"a sacred army, a divine and excellent order, a monastic and angelic way of life"*.

The emergence of the historic institution of monasticism was a moment in the history of the world of the greatest and fundamental importance. The subsequent successive phases of monasticism, in different ages and places, preserved the eschatological dimension of life within the conditions of Christian communities, given that there was the influence, in the beginning, of the reaction and constriction of paganism, and then of the secularisation of social life, of heresy, of schisms and so forth, down to our own breathless age. This means the ever-present possibility of the ascent of man to God and the revelation of God in a specific community within the Church. Thus in all ages and at all times, the monastery remains the same thing: a living image of the Kingdom of God, from Whom the brotherhood await His doctrine and His speech *"as the small rain upon the herb, and as the showers upon the grass"* (see Deuteronomy 32:1-2). In spite of every adulteration or debasement, a pilgrim to the holy monasteries will discern this at once. Great is the power of the spiritual seed.

Just as in the Old Testament God set the prophets as guardians of the inspired message in the Holy Spirit, through their lives and, at the last, their martyr's death, thus in the Church the same Spirit calls the monks, as prophets and martyrs, to the battlements to speak of and

to point to the life of the world to come. They, as ever at the point of death, bear in their flesh the divine promises and prefigure the kingdom which is to come.

St Antony and the Fathers of his time, Pachomius, founder and organiser of the coenobium, St Basil the Great, perfecter of the coenobitic system, and then the founders of monasteries, such as St Savas, St Theodosius and, later, St Theodore the Studite and St Athanasius the Athonite, and so many others, all of them in their generation brought forth hundreds of hundreds and thousands and thousands of monks and spiritual strongholds, which have guided and safeguarded chiefly those in their prime, but also children and old men. All these one day hear the voice of God, as did Moses: *"Come up to me into the mount, and be there"*. And the result? *"And Moses went up into the mount, and a cloud covered the mount. And the glory of the Lord abode upon mount Sinai"* (Exodus 24:12,15,16).

The individual call of God to the monk is not in the abstract but occurs in space and time, that is, as an 'Eastertide' —a transition from the world of the *"natural body"* to the place of the *"spiritual body"*. *"As we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly"* (I Corinthians 15:44, 49). Our transition is renunciation of the world, exile in the 'wilderness', that is, the monastery, ascent into the mount of God.

No one remains inert before the word of Christ, addressed to all: *"If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me"* (Luke 9:23).

It was Christ Himself, having stirred up the crowds by His words, His journeyings and His miracles, who again *"withdrew himself into the wilderness, and prayed"* (Luke 5:16).

The majority of the monasteries were founded by hesychasts, most of whom lived in caves to begin with and then were compelled to put up great, fine monuments of architecture and wonderful buildings for the serving of everyday needs and the occupation of the Spirit. These beginnings of the hesychast-founders remain landmarks that cannot be overturned, and the hesychast spirit survives as the authentic criterion of the monk; because things run on and we run with them, and so we must go more slowly in order to see the life of the Fathers, the 'other way of life, with its origins in eternity'. Just as the Apostles and their successors founded local churches, so the sainted founders have built places where apostolic life is focused and have set up altars and *metochia* everywhere, so as to accomplish friendship with God and that meeting of man with God which is attainable.

The monasteries were strengthened by the holy canons of the Church and are governed perpetually by the *typika,* the charters, the testaments and the regulations of their founders and great re-founders, who in this way mapped out the life of the monasteries and of the monks.

The Church ratified and protected the monastic institutions, in order to ensure for ever the authority of these sacred foundations, as beatings for itself, so that it should not lose its own orientation. Without this statutory recognition of the monasteries, we should have had constant and insoluble problems and the link between the eschatological way of life and empirical living in the Church would have been lacking.

There is a saying which claims 'if the monasteries are as they should be, the monks will come'. And this is true. The inflow, monastic life, will never cease, unless the end comes, the meeting with the Lord who comes with His angels, and our acceptance, the welcome of the Saints awaiting us there.

The world has filled with monasteries: centres of life, the adornments of whole regions, sacred refuges, skylights for the blind, telescopes for those who see, loud-hailers for those who hear, focus points for mystical enlightenment and joy. And the generations of monks have built in the eternal deserts and the lofty mountains, they have dwelt on the shores, they have inherited the earth. All of them will rejoice eternally with crowns upon their heads.

C. The Trunk (The Athonite life)

The original anchorite or eremitical way of life has not ceased, even today, to have its disciples. From the beginning of the Church's history, at the time of the persecutions and afterwards, the hermits wrote golden pages of history, they matured spiritually and performed mighty works, becoming imitators and companions of the life of the angels. This form of life,

bordering on the extreme, danger, destitution and total self-denial, developed in the 4th century into well-organised monasticism.

The Saints Hilarion, Savas, Euthymius and other great Fathers married solitude with companionship for monks, and this soon developed naturally into small settlements and then, in a final form, into coenobitic monasteries, as 'cities from heaven', as a commonwealth. In it, bodies, souls, wills, money, preferences, desires, strivings, toil, crowns of reward—all are in common.

The coenobium —without displacing previous forms of monasticism, which are preserved actively today on the Holy Mountain, such as *kalyvia, kellia, sketes* and metochia—prevailed almost everywhere in the Church and accepts, adopts, nourishes, satisfies, educates, sanctifies and perfects the monks as fighters in the good fight and, consequently, as citizens of heaven, our friends and emissaries, living in a spirit of frankness, with whom our communion continues as one family, whose lamp is not extinguished but shines forth.

The Athonite commonwealth, we could say, is the largest of monastic communities, living in the world, but also out of the world, which, however, it aids and serves with a dynamic of life, grace, spiritual treasure and prayer —a whole upward striving 'for the salvation of the world'. What could be more moving than this life of the Mountain? It is overflowing with spiritual forces which save the monks and those who come here. The monks, *"fly as a cloud"* (Isaiah 60:8) to the boundless horizon; the incense of their hearts, the odour of their sacrifices, their regard fixed by mystical longings upon the invisible, living and all-seeing God, the outpourings of their tears and the expressive cries of their praise and supplication are treasured up to all eternity.

The Holy Mountain has succeeded in combining and reconciling hesychasm and the coenobitic tradition. St Athanasius the Athonite, as a hesychast, having tasted the sweetness of the desert, accomplished this combination as a way of life in a great imperial coenobium for *"the salvation of many"*. He adopted the Studite tradition at its highest point and maintained the necessity for and the power of the spiritual father and *gerontas,* together with the individual life for each monk, and scope for hesychast-ascetic striving, because *"great indeed is the work of Hesychia"* (St John Climacus, PG 88: 1117).

Athonite monasticism, as a result of this wonderful synthesis, is an endless *synaxis—cenaculum, conventiculum*—a life with a single aim, in which human individuals are respected and develop as 'different members' of the one Body of Christ, a communion enjoyed in love and service, in meditation and prayer, in ceaseless joyful confession of thoughts, in commom participation in worship. All this gives rest to man and elevates him above the world by real and inner obedience to the spiritual father, and by his *canon* or rule of prayer he conserves his strength and desire for God.

In order not to lose its orientation, the Holy Mountain seeks to live in a consistent manner, so as to keep unadulterated its spirit and its mission. Its tradition is not adherence to an external form, but a profound ecclesiastical consciousness, the distillation of more than a thousand years of experience of human nature in communion with God. For this reason, the Athonite monk is and wishes to remain a 'traditionalist', to immerse ever more deeply his being in the mind of the Fathers. Thus he transcends the limits of the 'ego' and the mutability of fallen human nature. This tradition penetrates into the innermost parts of the 'life to come' and wins for man rights to a foretaste of eternity.

Let us see now one offshoot of this fruitful tree —Simonopetra.

D. The Offshoot (Simonopetra)

As we have said before, Simonopetra was no exception to the rule where its origins are concerned: it too had the blessing of a cave —that from which its Founder, filled with zeal, set forth to build the Monastery, soaring among the clouds, without changing its cave-like character, and completed his task at great risk and with great toil in the architecture of the Spirit.

St Simon lived a little before the time of the hesychast dispute—a time when the Holy Mountain had more than 300 monasteries and a host of hesychasts. He it was who, having

devoted himself wholly to contemplation, received a divine vision and command and initiated the first brotherhood, so that coenobitic life on the Rock should give access to contemplation. The best inheritance which St Simon has left to his children has been this experience of God, and they in turn had to make the Athonite synthesis of the dwelling together in 'hesychia' of the brethren and waiting upon God into reality. It is a progression in place to a limit beyond limits of those *"that stand here, which shall not taste of death, till they have seen the kingdom of God come"* (Mark 9:1).

Life at Simonopetra has not always been easy. Misadventures, raids, pressing repayments of loans, a series of fires, Turkish rule, wars, interference in the ways of the Mountain ... There were times when the Monastery was aspiring, others when it was expiring and others, finally, when it was respiring. Holy elders came seeking a niche, others to take on the responsibility of the Monastery —but because of the extreme difficulty of the conditions, they left again. Others stayed and gave their lives. But it is God who writes history. We, at this point, will only record the repopulation of the Monastery in 1973, at a time of adversity and despondency, by the brotherhood of the Great Meteoron at Stagoi. The young offshoots of the Meteoron, like eaglets, sought a nest on the Rock of St Simon. With joy, hope and thankfulness towards God, and with the blessing of the older Fathers, more than 50 brethren took up their abode in its abandoned quarters and filled the cells and the church with life and youth.

Our Monastery is the thirteenth in rank of the twenty holy monasteries. This spiritual hive in its day-to-day life hums with life; but this, of course, is a characteristic of the monasteries of Athos: all are uniform because of their shared tradition, but with their own individuality, arising from the nature of the brotherhood and the personality of the gerontas of the day.

Those who are allotted the tasks of the Monastery receive, at the beginning of each year, from the hand of Christ and of the holy Founder, through the Abbot, their keys and tools as sacred liturgical vessels. Each monk, in serving the needs of his brethren, is performing the liturgy of the one body and giving an account of himself as a faithful steward. He who serves practises his obedience in the midst of the brotherhood, hastening with zeal to anticipate the speediness of humility. But he who is self-willed, self-ruling and independent remains alone; and he who performs what appear to be the most 'humiliating' tasks is the most blessed.

Work, and particularly that shared by the whole community, and the various expressions of the common life are rest, play and joy before God *"who searches the heart and reins";* and He rejoices when He sees that the heart of his disciples is 'pure'.

Work in the fields particular serves as recreation for the monk; it exercises the body so that it can watch with the Spirit and leaves the mind free for its own concerns. Moreover, this work provides an abundance of the wholesome diet on which, by tradition, ascetics are nurtured.

Administrative and office work carefully regulates the good order of the brotherhood, and ensures that unpleasant situations are avoided.

Those who perform tasks connected with the church and the cantors have their own reward because of their ready mind, but also because of the unavoidable division of their attention.

The refectory is full each day. Those who serve there would like to be tireless in their attentions. The shared meal, with its liturgical character, gives expression to the transfiguration of all carnal needs into means of bringing God to us.

The guesthouse is in a constant state of readiness. The guestmasters are cheerful and welcoming; the 'doorkeepers' receive visitors with friendliness and for a short time share their lives, with their inmost aspirations and experiences, in a cordial and modest way. The Monastery's confessors remain silent and patient.

The sedentary tasks have their own benefits —as well as the related difficulties; there too the work is carefully done. And those to whom the heavy work is allotted are ever ready and robust.

But let us not forget the work of the firefighters. As soon as they arrive at the spot where the blaze has broken out they tuck up their garments and each works out his own responsibility. There is a little silent self-criticism —and then spontaneous haste and swift action, faced as they are with the abyss of the mercy of our Father and the will of the Mother of God.

Any carefully-judged use of modern technology is not intended to develop production or

make a profit, but to help the brethren and serve the life of the individual by creating more opportunities. Thus objects and the tools of the task become, in the Monastery, channels for God, as in the eschatological City of God, as the prophet Zechariah says: *"In that day shall there be upon the bells of the horses, HOLY UNTO THE LORD; and the pots in the Lord's house shall be like the bowls before the altar".*

To sum up, the word of God applies to all the various tasks assigned within the Monastery: if you work on and the business of your task is sufficient for you and you do not stray beyond it, then life will be sweet for you— *"The life of one that laboureth, and is contented, shall be made sweet"* (Ecclesiasticus 40:18). The workshops serve the brotherhood in its needs, and the way in which they are equipped determines the time and limits of the work there, because otherwise the monks would risk having to seek beyond the 'overshadowing mountain' of our lives.

Individual characteristics, weaknesses, passions, human appetites and temporal ambitions will perhaps exist and will arise. And yet the Monastery is *"a door opened in heaven, and... a voice ... Come up hither, and I will shew thee the things which must come to pass hereafter"* (Revelation 4:1). The attraction of heaven will always draw you up higher.

In specific circumstances the monks must necessarily leave the Mountain for special reasons. In this case they obey, but return at once, as soon as the need has been met. These brethren with a light heart return to their home and the house of God.

Simonopetra has its own individual character. It also has its radiating influence, shining as it does with the bright light of its Founder, because *"the labour of the righteous tendeth to life"* (Proverbs 10:16) - life and joy, light, and again light, and gladness of heart. It is penetrated by the ultimate, that is, by waiting upon God, encountered in His own abode of God-made-man.

The coenobitic life of the Monastery imitates a worshipping assembly ('synaxis'), on the model of the angels' endless praise. All the activities of the Monastery have not only a shared character, but also a liturgical one, as they depict the mystery of the Church.

A little after midnight the morning offices begin. The Divine Liturgy is celebrated daily. At midday the Hours are read, and, three hours before sunset, there is Vespers.

The most festal of all the services is the all-night vigil. This keeps the mind alert, while hearts leap up vigorously and eagerly, sharing in the awesome strength of the powers above and the delight of the saint who is commemorated or of the feast day. Heaviness is thrown off and repelled, eyes, vigilant, follow the lighting of the lamps and the symbolic revolving movements of the chandeliers and the great candelabra, deriving joy from heaven, absorbing the dew of contrition and dancing together with men and angels. Thus the mind climbs like a wild ox to the sanctuary on high and the spirit is carried aloft in holiness and fear in order to discover, mystically, the mercy-seat of the sacred ark and to share in those things which *" eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man"* (I Corinthians 2:9).

When there is no vigil in church, then there is the *canon* or 'liturgy' of the monk, and *"while peaceful silence enwrapped all things, and night in her own swiftness was in mid course"* (Wisdom of Solomon 18:14, 15), the all-powerful Word comes - invited, so that the true light shines forth, and, coming in the middle of the night as He does, *"they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light: and they shall reign for ever and ever", "and they shall see his face"* (Revelation 22:5, 4).

The encounter of the monk with God in his cell in the middle of the night is the heart of his life. It is this which regulates the whole of his daily routine: work, rest, diet. The faithful monk emerges as if from a fiery furnace which burns without consuming. It is such a development of the person which becomes the building up and training of the 'body', of the whole of the brotherhood.

Apart from this, and over and above their normal study, the monks have, according to ancient custom, their own special meeting, a 'gathering of selves', in which the brotherhood meets with the spiritual father *"in simplicity and godly sincerity"* (I Corinthians 1:12) in the 'kerasma' ('a sharing'). It is there that fitting conversation, the necessary exchange of information, initiation into monasticism, the mystagogy of the spirit, the 'service of the word' take place.

But the most beautiful and most solemn moment in the life of the brotherhood is the

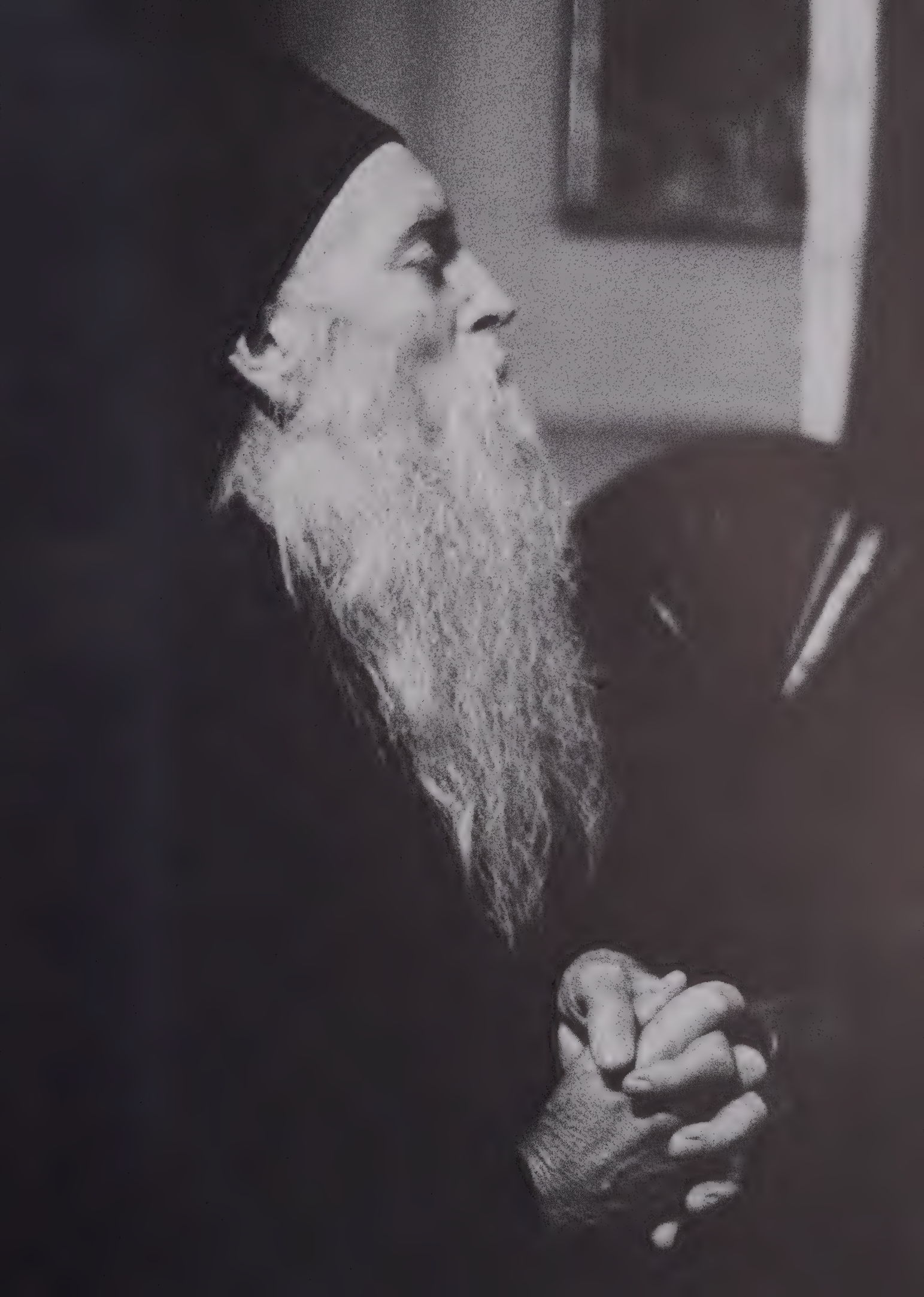


Fig. 50 "Praise the Lord, ye servants".

Fig. 47 "Forsake me not, O God, in mine old age, when I am grey-headed". *

Fig. 48 "I am like a green olive-tree in the house of God".

Fig. 49 "Yea, the sparrow hath found her an house".

* For the sources of the quotations, see p. 388

Fig. 51 "Joseph of Arimathaea... came...".

Fig. 52 "Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is: brethren, to dwell together in unity".

Fig. 53 *"These all continued with one accord in prayer".*

Fig. 54 *"The Lord my God shall make my darkness to be light".*

tonsuring of each new monk: a second baptism, a renascence, a rebirth into a new life, a marriage, a change worked by the right hand of God. The one who receives the tonsure, in the midst of his rejoicing brethren, supported by the prayers and counselling of the service itself and the repeated supplication of *kyrie eleison,* becomes the equal of the angels, so that he can live and think as an angel. All things are made new. He now belongs to God and the church militant. As he walks or converses he reveals the icon of Christ hidden in his innermost self - He is the monk's right, his measure, his explication: He that is expected.

"O what excellence of honour our holy and sacred habit holds! O what spiritual fragrance it breathes... O profession where heaven is touched! O profession laying hold of God... O profession through which the world is saved!" (Serapion of Thmuis, PG 40: 933).

But he who thinks to be tonsured as a monk must look hard at the matter, and then look at it again. He must thirst, he must hunger to be filled, to be made drunk. This only God brings about.

From this moment on, his spiritual life is daily ascetic exercise. It is the pruning of shoots so that the branches may be cultivated. It is our tears, joy-bringing sorrow, our pain, our growth in Christ. Isaiah says: *"a Branch shall grow out of his roots: and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him"* (Isaiah 11:1, 2). He is the Branch, who was, and is, and is to be, He who comes together with us —because we have called Him.

E. A Planting of the Lord to His glory (The spiritual father)

Man —and especially the monk— has one task before him: to accustom himself to endure *"as seeing him who is invisible"* (Hebrews 11: 27). But this is difficult for our ineptitude and lack of recollection. It is unachievable for our nature. And yet it is achievable, for all that, because He says so, He, the incarnate God, wills it. And He always speaks the truth.

There can be no doubt that the monastery cultivates the fruits of the Spirit, Who makes man something other and transforms him into a sharer of divinity, because, in truth, it is the Spirit Who causes man to develop. The life of the monk is dynamic, receptive to progress and advance, understanding, feeling, the 'vision' of God. The monk, living day by day the outward forms, stores up in himself the mysteries of God and prepares the fullness of the heart, the search for God in the footsteps of the Son of God, and the light of the Kingdom.

This is something man must learn. The whole of the monk's discipline and life leads to this. This is our contest. Visible man lives in order to have the invisible God-made-man. We are not merely the creatures of chance. *"...there is a spirit in man: and the inspiration of the almighty giveth them understanding"* (see Job 32:8). For that reason, our hearts seek the figure of a father that we may feel ourselves sons of God. And they have every right to know and to ask: *"Hear, I beseech thee, and I will speak : I will demand of thee, and declare thou unto me"* (Job 42:4).

In our weakness, however, we need a fellow-man, visible and in the same form as ourselves, in order to occupy the place of God. The Creator is pleased to give to his creature as creator a spiritual father, a fellow-servant who shares our nature, so that he is the 'end of the celestial sphere', the extreme, the end, the centre, the axis of heaven. He becomes the criterion, the depth and the height for the monk, so that he can reach *"the glorious liberty of the children of God"* (Romans 8:21). For that reason, those who are subject to him frequently give an account in their relations with him of their lives, of their falls and recoveries and of their 'holy passions', in which they exercise themselves and to which they grow accustomed, as well as to the course of their life of prayer, by which they gain the desired 'city'.

Spiritual fatherhood is a harmonious co-operation between the monk and the spiritual father for the training of freedom and the cultivation of the personality. This discipleship does not degenerate into a cult of personality, but becomes God-bearing in humility and courage.

Spiritual husbandry renders the spiritual labourer strong, experienced, full of life, a fighter. He prepares for the next day, he wrestles with God and vanquishes Him. Thus he acquires the *"garment of praise"* and is honoured as *"the planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified"* (Isaiah 61:3). The one who cultivates and plants and labours is crowned with his reward. The Lord will remember him and will call him by his name. And he will

receive *"a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God"* (Isaiah 62:3).

F. The Harvest (instead of an epilogue)

The traveller crosses sea, land and air to set his affairs in order and then to relax in his home, reaping his labours, his opportunities, his sorrows, his joy, and, above all, his treasures-fruits which he has amassed.

The worker, the farmer, the professional man all strive to make their living, to gather together their families, to enjoy the good things of life, to provide for their children and to take their rest, rejoicing for evermore.

This is true of every father, but much more so of the spiritual father and the spiritual harvest. The seed which is sown and the treasures are his children. And the children are the life of the father.

Up to now we have been speaking of the images of heaven. Now we want heaven itself, where all the righteous take their rest. And heaven does not stay put —in heaven. The Church ascends and descends, a great sheet and as a city into our world, filled with the children of God.

The monk's way of life has such familiarity with God, because as his starting-point he has two constant desires: that we should live together with one accord, continuing the apostolic community as long as we live, and to have as the model for our life the perfection in our person of the holy martyrs, this too extended to eternity.

The harvest, the goal is a peace wrought by God. *"For we which have believed do enter into rest"* (Hebrews 4:3), *"within the veil; whither the forerunner is for us entered, even Jesus"* (Hebrews 6:19, 20). *"For he hath prepared for them a city"* (Hebrews 11:16). All is for us and we are for all. We are gathered together here as an encompassing cloud of witnesses and we wait to meet with the *"encompassing cloud of witnesses"* (Hebrews 12:1), who are known to us by name and friends.

Such a daily way of life is capable of remaining as a foundation for eternity and works together for the granting to us of spiritual knowledge and experience of grace, so that these divine gifts act within us. Thus the monks, opening up their hearts, gain strength and the fruits of their martyr's struggle and the eyes of their minds now see the King and there is great rejoicing. And here it can be seen how a ceaseless ambition enjoys the object of its desire like a harvest.

There is another harvest: not this time in the cell, but in the guest house. Each day men gather there —our brothers. They come from every quarter. The hospitable monks offer themselves as a sacrifice. Joy, faith, ardour and jubilation break forth in the hearts of the guests. Their life changes. They find meaning. They weep for joy, each finding what was necessary for him. They become one with the monks —a living change wrought by the right hand of the Lord. Here, then, is another harvest— in the hearts and the homes of those who have visited the Monastery—to return as soon as possible.

The Monastery is not a missionary centre: it is a constant sowing and endless harvesting which gives rest to the soul of the monk. How profound a thing is the harvest of the heart! It fills with peace and bestows it. It instils delight even into the animals. The monk in his happiness *"lieth under the shady trees"* and *"the shady trees cover him with their shadow"* (Job 40:20-22). There could be no more beautiful way of expressing the experience and the joy of the monastic life.

The monk lives both in his natural environment and within the framework of transfigured time, which transforms him into one who dances in the midst of the choirs of the saints and of the ranks of angels.

However, the natural world of the Monastery is not confined to the top of the Simonopetra rock. Simonopetra is also its eight metochia: Ormylia in Halkidiki, the Ascension in Athens, St Charalampus in Thessaloniki, three in France and another two in Greece, all of them well-known. These too are places of initiation. How many are those who are 'harvested' there, meeting the Church so close to them. Each metochi is a casting net, and there also births and rebirths take place. The voices and the hearts of the friends of the metochia scintillate as with

lightning; they taste the joy-bringing nourishment and food which the Monastery provides. As they leave the metochia, one feeling is shared by all: *"His life shall see the light. Lo all these things worketh God oftentimes with man"* (Job 33: 28, 29). The whole of their life is concentrated in the light, as they hymn the great Harvester. The One who will one day gather together the whole world from every part is already preparing us and the friends of the Monastery. Is this not exactly what He has told us? *"For I have satiated the weary soul, and I have replenished every sorrowful soul"* (Jeremiah 31:25).

The monastery is an ark of saints, a commonwealth of those who are sanctified. Originals and images, heaven and the monastery by grace 'are one'.

The heavenly Sion and the monastic 'commonweath', the place of our sojourning, are a world made ready by God: treasuries for those who take the Kingdom of God by storm, storehouses with all their chests thrown open; a repository of tools and weapons, not only for us and for the instruments we need, for the variety, of our armament, of the spirit and for the struggle, for the means, the manner and the toil of our life before God; wardrobes for the black garments for devotion and the red for blood of spiritual exercise; wine cellars for us to drink eternally *"new wine";* granaries for the everlasting consumption of the Bread of our life; watchtowers for us to observe the Sun with the stars within the mind; individual chambers, because other is the glory of the sun, other the glory of the moon and other of the stars. And the Lord Himself says: *"Son of man, you have come to Know the place of my throne, and the place of the soles of my feet, where I will dwell in the midst of you for ever". "Son of man... thou hast been in Eden the garden of God... in the day that thou wast created... I have set thee... upon the holy mountain of God".* (Ezekiel 43:7; 28:12,13,14). And again He calls to us: *"In my father's house are many mansions... I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also"* (John 14:2, 3). And finally He gives us His promise: *"Tou shalt also be a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God"* (Isaiah 62:3).

An angel of the Lord, a type of Christ, once showed John the Divine the eschatological dwelling of God with man. So let the daily life of the angelic commonwealth of a monastery, every monastery, be an open window for every man alive today.

Liturgical Life

I. Fountoulis

The liturgical life in monasteries is regulated by their liturgical *typikon,* which enjoys particular honour and is accorded special authority by the brotherhood, much as is the constitution in a state. It is precisely this devotion to the typika of the Fathers which ensures not only the orderly and unimpeded conduct of the services, but also the continuing flow of tradition and the maintenance of living continuity in its two principal dimensions, the past and the future. Furthermore, it guarantees its universality and catholicity, which is an inviolable condition for the confirmation of its genuineness, that is to say, of its place within the Church.

Looking to the past, the tradition reaches back to the first Founder and Father of the monastery, who, in organising the life of the coenobium which by divine prompting and with help from above he founded, also determined its way of life and liturgical order. He is the 'sainted' Founder of the monastery. The recognition of his sanctity constitutes the theological grounding of the typikon. It is this which gives the necessary divine sanction, the seal of the Holy Spirit. It assures those who observe it that they are treading paths which are tried and tested, *"rough places [made] plain"* (Isaiah 40:4), which lead with certainty to the Kingdom of Heaven, since they have been trodden by the holy founder, himself following in the footsteps of his fathers the saints, within the ark of salvation of the *"congregation of the saints"* (Psalm 149:1). For this reason, obedience to the first father of the monks is translated not only into

imitation of the holiness of his life and his ascetic spirit, according to the saying of the monks "if you want to call me your father, imitate my life", but also observance of his spiritual testament, his typikon. This explains the particular sensitivity of the monks over the observance of the provisions of the typikon and the preservation of any distinctive features in the liturgical order of their monastery.

All this applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Monastery of Simonopetra. The original typikon of its founder, the Blessed Simon the 'Myrovlytis', has not survived. However, we can be certain that on general lines it was the same as the typika of other Athonite coenobia in force at monasteries which predate Simonopetra, beginning with the Megiste Laura of St Athanasius. The Founder would have adopted what was by then the common typikon of Orthodox monasteries, according to the order of Jerusalem of St Savas, as that had taken shape after modification by the Studium Monastery of Constantinople. This is what has remained until the present the typikon of the Monastery, with, it would seem, some initial or later differences, which we shall try to identify below. It is neither possible nor desirable to undertake a full description of this typikon here. Anyway, a typikon is neither described nor taught; it is inculcated by constant daily practice. Its provisions regulate the liturgical life of the brotherhood; they are lived through this and taught empirically by it. Its specifications constitute the bounds of liturgical order, which serve to put the feet of the brotherhood on the right path towards the immediate and ultimate objective of the monastic life: the living out of the mystery of salvation in Christ and the perfecting and divination (*'theosis'*) of the faithful. In themselves, the directions of the typikon may not be of any special interest; they may be familiar and stereotyped. They may also, however, be valuable for the study of the history and development of the Orthodox liturgical tradition and provide excellent opportunities for comparison and historical and literary research, study and scholarly discoveries. Nonetheless, they add nothing special to the overall picture of the monastic liturgical tradition and its crucial aims. It is for precisely this reason that the liturgical practice of the Church has always indicated a path, the only right path for this approach to the mystery of its worship, that of *"taste and see"* (Psalm 34:8) —immediate personal contact and experience. A classic example are the ancient 'mystagogic catechisms', which instructed on the liturgical forms those who had believed and had come to know from personal participation what was done in divine worship. Thus they provided them not with the type or symbol, but with the meaning concealed behind it, *"the mind of the act of worship"* [1]. The same line was followed by the mystagogue fathers in their commentaries on divine worship—Dionysius, Maximus, Germanus of Constantinople, Theodore of Andida, Nikolaos Kavasilas, Markos Evyenikos. Starting from the familiar pattern, which is available and learnt by experience in the daily practice of the Church, they passed on to the thing signified. *"It was to this end that such and such a type was devised, signifying this not in words only, but bringing all things before the eyes... so that not mere contemplation alone, but feeling should be implanted in us... adding sanctification to sanctification, that of the rite to that of contemplation"* [2]. In giving a commentary on the type and in undertaking theological and spiritual penetration or in making typological and symbolic references back to the themes and mysteries of Christ, they continued the Alexandrian tradition of biblical interpretation in another field, that of divine worship. Thus, by the illumination of the Holy Spirit and each by his own individual powers, they have left us works which today serve as guides to the understanding of the meaning of the Orthodox liturgical heritage. The classic example of balance in the provision of teaching of the theory and description of the type is provided, as he sums up the Orthodox tradition of liturgical interpretation, by St Symeon of Thessaloniki (1429), particularly in his later works, the *Dialogue* and *Responses*. It is the same line of tradition which is followed today in the initiation of novice monks into divine worship. They are not taught the liturgical type in any special school; this they experience together with the brotherhood in daily practice and they learn it, suffering it and living it, by translating the act into words and the type into substance. The monks do not teach worship, but are taught by it and through it.

The predominance in all the Athonite monasteries, and by extension in all Orthodox monasteries throughout the world, basically of one shared typikon, the Jerusalem Typikon of St Savas, ensures and confirms the unity of the monastic tradition of the Church. This is because

in this way, with the shared psalmody, the shared liturgical type, and with the ascription of praise accomplished by the same words and acts, aspiration towards God *"with one voice and one heart"*, this unity of the Church, the worship of the mystical Body of Christ addressed to its God and Father becomes perceived and is expressed. At the same time, however, consequent upon what we have said above, the typikon provides for all a common spiritual training which teaches, instils and builds through worship and leads the holy community to increase and spiritual advance *"unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ"* (Ephesians 4:13). In this way, however, narrowly local confines are also transcended, confines which, though innate in the fluid nature of this world and its passing forms, is nonetheless ruinous for weak human nature, which finds it difficult not to see difference as fragmentation. This awareness of the identity of the liturgical type in all Orthodox monasteries gives a sense of unity of spirit and identity of faith and even of the shared nature of the spiritual end pursued by it: the straight common path towards the purpose of the monastic life.

In other words, when the monk takes part in worship at the holy coenobium of Simonopetra, he feels himself in communion with the Church everywhere, concelebrant and participant in the hymnody which rises at the same time and in the same words from all the monastic brotherhoods on Athos and throughout the world. At the same time he rightly feels himself the disciple and fellow-disciple of all the wise and holy teachers, fathers of the Church and brothers in Christ, who down the ages have given expression to the truths of the Faith in verse or prose or have encapsulated in the instructions of typika and symbols the feelings which filled their hearts and the rejoicing of their spirit *"in God my Saviour"* (Luke 1:47), as a living member of the communion of saints, grounded in the joyful expectation of eternal life and blessedness.

This is what is symbolised and safeguarded by what is, basically, the same typikon in use in all monasteries.

There are, however, differences and variations. Thus we can speak of the Typikon of St Savas of Studium or of the Athonite Typikon, but at the same time of the Typikon of the Laura, of Xeropotamou, of Simonopetra, of Patmos, and so on. The first of these is the shared framework on which common or varying constituents are built. The former is essential, but the latter desirable and necessary. The essential confirms unity: variety is a sign of life, a necessary expression and result of *"living worship"*, because it is precisely by *"living"* and *"reasonable"* (Romans 12:1) Christian worship that what natural law determines shall happen in all living beings and spiritual phenomena occurs here: these combine community of characteristics with variety in such a way that the common nature defines the genus and the variations the species. Within variety, harmony is ensured and this is brought to perfection by symbiosis, complementariness and co-existence in the *"very good"* (Genesis 1:31) world of God.

For these reasons we shall not stop to describe the shared elements of worship, which can be encountered at Simonopetra, but which are common to all Orthodox monasteries, and particularly to all those of Mt Athos. These would be commonplaces. What could be stressed is that today the presence in the Simonopetra Monastery of a numerous brotherhood, made up chiefly of young and well-educated men, with great zeal for the worship of God and the exact observance of the monastic liturgical traditions and typika, well-versed in music and liturgy, gives the worship of the Monastery a particularly representative hue. Given the conservatism of the monastic tradition and liturgical order, *mutatis mutandis* and bearing in mind the legitimate and necessary intervening natural evolution of the liturgical typika, it would be no exaggeration for us to recognise in today's worship in the Monastery the continuation of the very form which it had in the age of its founder and author of its liturgical typikon. This can be established by a comparison of current practice with surviving monastic typika of the 14th and 15th centuries, and particularly with the description of the monastic order of service provided by two memoranda of the Fathers which we have mentioned above; these are a little later than or contemporary with the foundation of the Monastery and are unique in Orthodox liturgical interpretative literature: the chapters "concerning divine prayer" from the work of St Symeon of Thessaloniki (+1429) *Dialogue in Christ against all heresies and concerning... all the holy rites and all the sacraments of the Church*, and the work of St Mark Evyenikos (+1444/5)

Explanation of the ecclesiastical order of service. These contain, indirectly, a description of the services as they would have been specified in the Typikon of St Simon, which has not survived. It is in the present-day practice of the Monastery that its application can be found.

It would, of course, be an exaggerated and unrealistic claim to say that the typikon of Simonopetra has remained unaltered and without development for the 600 and more years of its life. Even if we had today the Founder's typikon in its full original form, we should find that many of its provisions had undergone alteration. These would naturally concern details, but that is not particularly important. The liturgical tradition is not by nature static, however much we might, romantically, wish to believe it so. Here too evolution and mobility are a sign of life, stagnation and inertness of death. More particularly, Simonopetra has not had the good fortune to have had its life constant and uninterrupted from the time of its foundation down to the present. The greater and smaller gaps in the course of its history and the inevitable re-composing of its liturgical typikon which followed these must have left their traces on it. Moreover, it is only to be expected that the increase or reduction in the number of monks at various periods and the places of origin of the Fathers and of its great Abbots should have had consequences for its liturgical order. To be more specific: until a few years ago, the majority of the Monastery's Fathers were from Asia Minor. The Asia Minor liturgical tradition, vigorous and dynamic until the disaster of 1922, must have had a beneficial effect upon its typikon. The same can be said of the presence in Simonopetra of Abbots of distinction, particularly when these came from other Athonite monasteries or *sketes.* Here we could mention the hymnographic work of its monk and Abbot Ieronymos, a man renowned for his spirituality and the holiness of his life, who in this way contributed to the advancement of the liturgical honour paid to the saints of the Monastery. Also decisive in the final shaping of the typikon must have been the improvements made to it by Kaisarios, its Abbot just before the Second World War. He too was from Asia Minor, a dynamic and cultured man, well-versed in the typikon of the Dionysiou Monastery, from which he came. His improvements to the Simonopetra typikon included the introduction of traditional and verified elements from that of the neighbouring monastery, which even today is known for the strictness and exactness of its order.

A few decades ago, Simonopetra, like the rest of Athonite monasticism, was passing through a term of trial. When, in the view of many, the end was approaching with mathematical inevitability, God performed the miracle of its resurrection from the dead. The very few, aged, Fathers had made superhuman efforts to keep alive the liturgical order of the Monastery, to the extent that this was still possible. The only condition in their bequest to the new Fathers was that the typika of the Monastery should be observed. Today that tradition is kept up by the new brotherhood with much devotion and love. The revered and equally ancient typikon of the Great Meteoron, where the nucleus of the new brotherhood grew up, encountered in it the typikon of St Simon. The liturgical ferment of the Holy Mountain is powerful and the assimilation of old and new elements as the centuries pass is total. For this very reason it is difficult, if not impossible, to identify these individual influences and to place them in terms of locality and date. It has, furthermore, been proved by history that the typika of the monasteries and their guardians and observers have never been possessed by a purely worldly feeling of self-sufficiency and isolationism. They have always been in a spiritual dialectical relationship, *"as concerning giving and receiving"* (Philippians 4:15), which combines in balance respect for their own tradition and that of others and, consequently, for the search for and adoption of any form of precision and the acceptance of improvements derived from tradition, without prejudice and with *"the mind of Christ"* (Corinthians 2:16).

In parallel, however, with the common elements which determine the order of the monastic typikon, we have spoken of variations which exist from monastery to monastery; these do not have their origins in the existence of different sources of tradition, but in the individual character which each monastery has had from its foundation or in other intervening circumstances which have been decisive for the history of its liturgical life. These are, chiefly, its dedication to a feast of Christ or His Mother or to a saint, the monastery's patron, the memory of its founder, the sacred relics or renowned icons which it treasures, and in part its chapels

and the churches of its *metochia*. All these take a place in the daily services of the monastery which is fixed in advance, determine its festivals and lend a particular colour which characterises each monastery —its own personality.

Simonopetra, before it had even been built, was dedicated to the Nativity of Christ, a rare privilege and unique on the Holy Mountain. The name and the site of the Monastery were revealed by God to its founder saint in a marvellous vision on the night of Christmas. It was to be the 'New Bethlehem', where in perpetuity angels together with men, the monks as successors of the shepherds, would glorify the Saviour born into the world (Luke 2:8-20). What the Church lives out once a year at Christmas, the *"metropolis of feasts"* [3], the brotherhood of the Monastery experiences every day of its life. It rejoices ceaselessly in this event, reverencing the sacred icon of the Nativity, which occupies a dominant position in the Monastery's *katholikon,* and singing with a joyful heart the dismissal hymn of Christmas: *"Thy birth, O Christ our God, has caused the light of knowledge to rise upon the world... O Lord, glory to Thee"*. The Rock of Simon has thus become the *New Bethlehem* or the *City of David* (Luke 2:11), the divine *"inn"* (Luke 2:7) which was chosen by the Word incarnated as an infant, as a sacred place of perpetual recollection of the Incarnation and a place of rebirth in Christ for so many. Simonopetra keeps an endless Christmas.

The honouring of St Simon the *Myrovlytis,* the Monastery's founder saint, is a second factor in differentiating its worship. St Simon, a typical Athonite ascetic, with his wrestlings with demons and his divine visions, undertook, by God's command, and completed the bold task of building the new coenobium. Reverence and thankfulness towards the first great father and builder passes very rapidly in all the monasteries from the traditional annual memorial of the founder to honouring him as a saint, with the divine favour shown in the meantime by the witness of miracles. St Simon, discreetly and in imitation of Christ, has remained hidden from the world. His relics have not been preserved, since the place of his burial has never been known, presumably at his own express wish. His cult has remained confined to his Monastery and has been relatively little disseminated by it and its metochia. His canons, which are sung 'on every Saturday' in the Monastery, in accordance with Athonite order, the weekly invocation of him and his feast day each year, together with the icons of him, perpetuate his restrained but dynamic presence within the brotherhood.

He who was by divine illumination the founder and builder of the Monastery is the father from whom that and its brotherhood take their name. The children of St Simon, in their great number down the centuries of the Monastery's life, in rendering liturgical honour to him, express not only their gratitude to this holy man, who laboured to build the Monastery and to provide for the necessities of its monks, but, above all, honour the spiritual father who engendered in Christ the first of the brothers and, then, through them, all those who down to the present have taken refuge within the shelter of the New Bethlehem. *"For many are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife"* (Isaiah 54:1). Moreover, still on the subject of spiritual birth —birth *"from above"* (John 3:3,7)— fatherhood and sonship in the spirit are confirmed by the continuation of the life in Christ of the father, just as the true children of Abraham do the works of Abraham (John 8:39). The fact that the children of St Simon imitate his sanctity —his 'life and works'— serves as a proof of their legitimacy and a demonstration of their family identity, unity and continuity through coming and past generations. Thus liturgical honour paid to the founder becomes a constant reminder of that truth, a verification of the monks' awareness of themselves as *Simonopetrites* and a renewal of the living presence of the one father and shepherd.

If the honour paid to St Simon stimulates monastic vigilance and gives impetus to ascetic endeavour, the cult and liturgical honours of St Mary Magdalene, who brought myrrh to the Tomb, the sacred relic of whose left hand is treasured in the Monastery, give another dimension to the services of Simonopetra. Mary Magdalene was the first to bring news of the Resurrection of the Saviour whose Birth is honoured by the Monastery. Birth and resurrection are thus bound together in harmonious balance and complement one another. The joyful mystery of the Incarnation of the Word finds its corollary in the *"gladsome proclamation of the Resur-*

rection'', in the rejection of Adam's choice in favour of death and in the assurance of the despoliation of death and Hades through the Resurrection[4]. When in the services Mary Magdalene is honoured, their tone automatically recalls the Resurrection and Easter. The myrrh brought by the women to the Tomb is a symbol not only of death, but also of resurrection. *''But Christ has shown Himself alien to corruption''* [5]. It also has a correspondence with the myrrh exuded by the holy founder. Here too myrrh is a symbol of life, life springing from death, a foretaste of the general resurrection.

The resplendent *katholikon* —the central church— of Simonopetra, with all its ascetic gravity and befitting modesty, dedicated to the Birth of Christ the Saviour, built on the summit of the rock of God's creation, is flanked by the wings of humble cells, the dwelling places of the Monastery's Fathers. The monks who live in them are the guests of Christ, the master of the house, the willing acolytes of His house, the servants in season of His worship. This finds expression in the predominance which divine worship occupies in the life of the monastic community. It is the centre of life and the purpose of life. It is around this church, the place of worship, and centring on it, that the life of the brotherhood revolves. Material needs and wordly distractions are kept to a minimum, to the absolutely essential, since the church and the liturgy are the chief and, as far as humanly possible, sole care of the monks. The renunciation of the world and all its good things has no other purpose than to make it possible for the brothers to give themselves *''without distraction''*(I Corinthians 7:35) to prayer and worship. *''But I would have you without carefulness ... but for that which is comely, and that ye may attend upon the Lord without distraction''* (I Corinthians 7:32, 35).

''Night and day'', writes St Theodore of Studium, *''we praise the Lord according to the ordinances delivered to us by the holy fathers. Psalmody succeeds psalmody, reading succeeds reading, prayer succeeds prayer''* (Little Catechism 402). Elsewhere he says: the monk *''each day celebrates Easter and keeps a feast day of much prayer to the Lord... For our life is none other than the preparation of a feast. For see what happens: psalmody succeeds psalmody, reading reading, study study, prayer prayer, as a cycle which leads us and joins us to God''* (Little Catechism 67). Commenting on the Apostle Paul's *''Rejoice evermore. Pray without ceasing. In every thing give thanks''* (I Thessalonians 5:16-18), he says: *''To rejoice evermore is productive of righteousness; and to pray without ceasing does not give place to the devil in us and in every thing to give thanks is palpable proof of love towards God''* (Little Catechism 89). This ceaseless giving of thanks and prayer at all times has always been and remains the aim of the monastic vocation: the palpable proof of love towards God. Is this foolishness to those who think as the world thinks? Is this a stumbling-block to worldly-minded Christians? Probably, since the preaching of Christ crucified is itself for the Jews and for the Greeks foolishness and a stumbling-block (I Corinthians 1:23). The monks, however, indifferent to the judgment of the world, *''take up their cross''* (Matthew 16:24; Mark 8:34) and take pride only in their crucified life. They willingly choose and accept death —this is what the 'cross' means— and of their own free will suffer dying to the world and the things in the world. They refuse that which the world deems good —life— and assent to that which the world fears and self-deceptively refuses and avoids—death. Thus the judgment of the world as to foolishness and a stumbling-block is proof of the genuineness of the cross which they bear. It is precisely this which is the point of transcendence of the necessity of the world, of redemption from the slavery of the fear of death (Hebrews 2:15) and corruption, and of transition through Christ and with Christ to another, new reality. This is because the choice of death is not made out of pessimism, but from optimism and, in effect, is an act of violation of the corrupted reality of the world to achieve a more rapid passage from death to life, to the new reality and life which we have learnt from Christ[6]. It is not, that is, an act of despair or the product of fatalistic Stoic apathy, but a heroic act of faith and hope and love of God: not a longing for death and non-existence, but an expectation of life from resurrection, a foretaste of eternal life. Just as victory over death is achieved in Christ, through the cross of Christ, so the new life centres upon Christ risen from the dead, who was dead and, behold, He is alive for evermore (Revelation 1:18) on Him who is the captain and author of our life and of our salvation (Acts 3: 15; 5:31; Hebrews 2:10; 12:2), our first-begotten brother in the risen life (I Corinthians 1:18.

Fig. 55 "Lord Christ, have mercy upon Thy servant".

Fig. 57 "Wisdom! Let us rise".

Fig. 56 "Seeing the evening light...".

Fig. 58 "We who mystically represent the Cherubim...".

Fig. 59 "Peace be unto all".

Fig. 61 "We worship Thy Passion, O Christ. Show also unto us Thy glorious Resurrection".
→

Fig. 60 "Christ in our midst".

Fig. 62 "The honourable Joseph...".

Fig. 63 "More beautiful than Paradise... Thy tomb, the fount of our resurrection".

Fig. 55 "Come and receive light".

Fig. 64 "Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as the incense".

Fig. 67 *"Acclaiming an eternal Passover".*

Fig. 66 *"Christ is risen, and demons are cast down.*
Christ is risen, and angels rejoice.
Christ is risen, and life is liberated".

←

Fig. 68 *"Praise him upon the loud cymbals".*

Fig. 69 "Today the whole of nature exults and rejoices that Christ is risen".

Fig. 70 Monk's cell.

Fig. 71 Wood-carving.

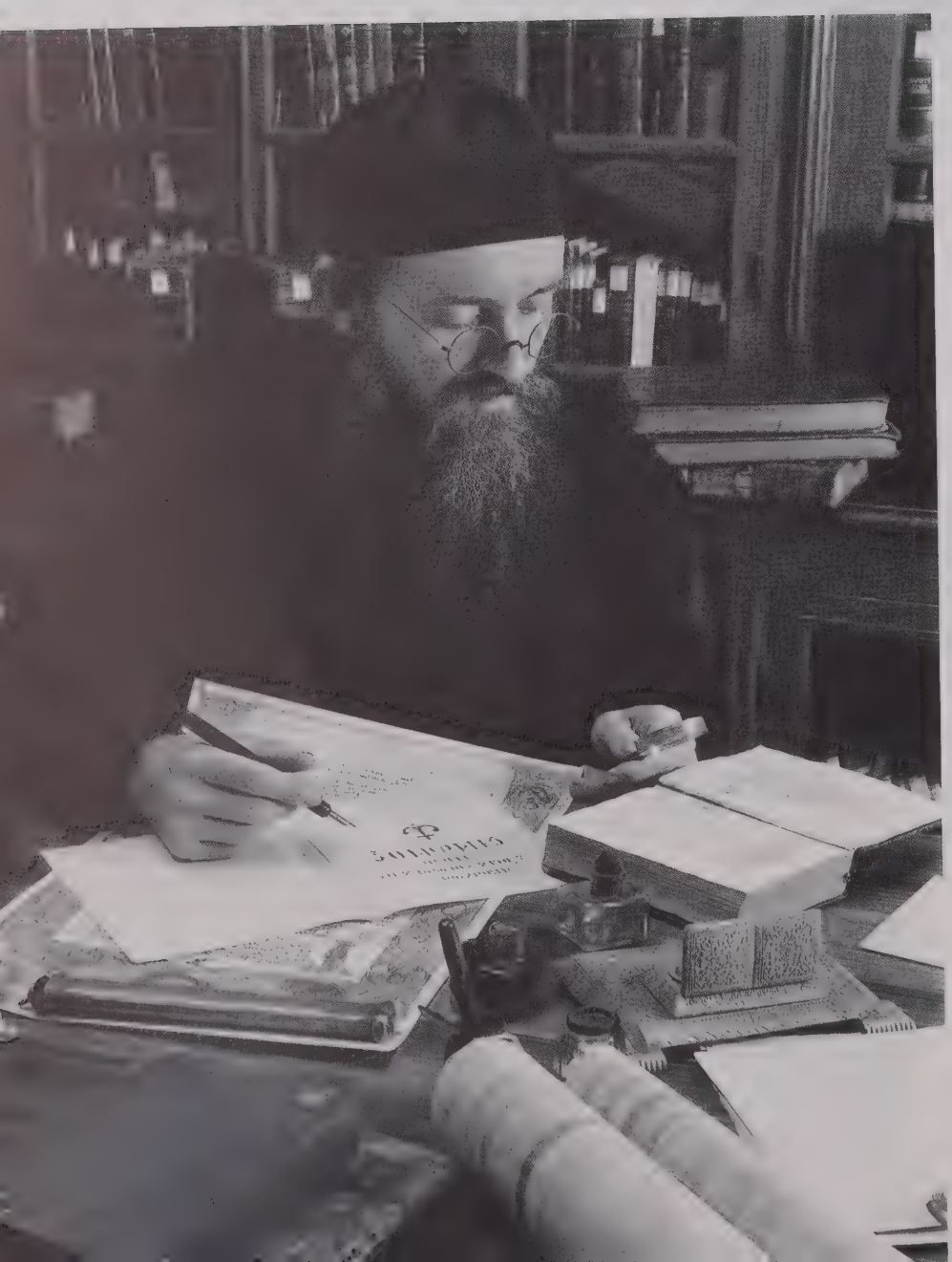


Fig. 72 In the library.

Fig. 73 End of the meal in the refectory.

Fig. 74 Stamping of altar breads.

Fig. 75 Preparation of food.

Fig. 76 Decoration of boiled wheat for memorial services.

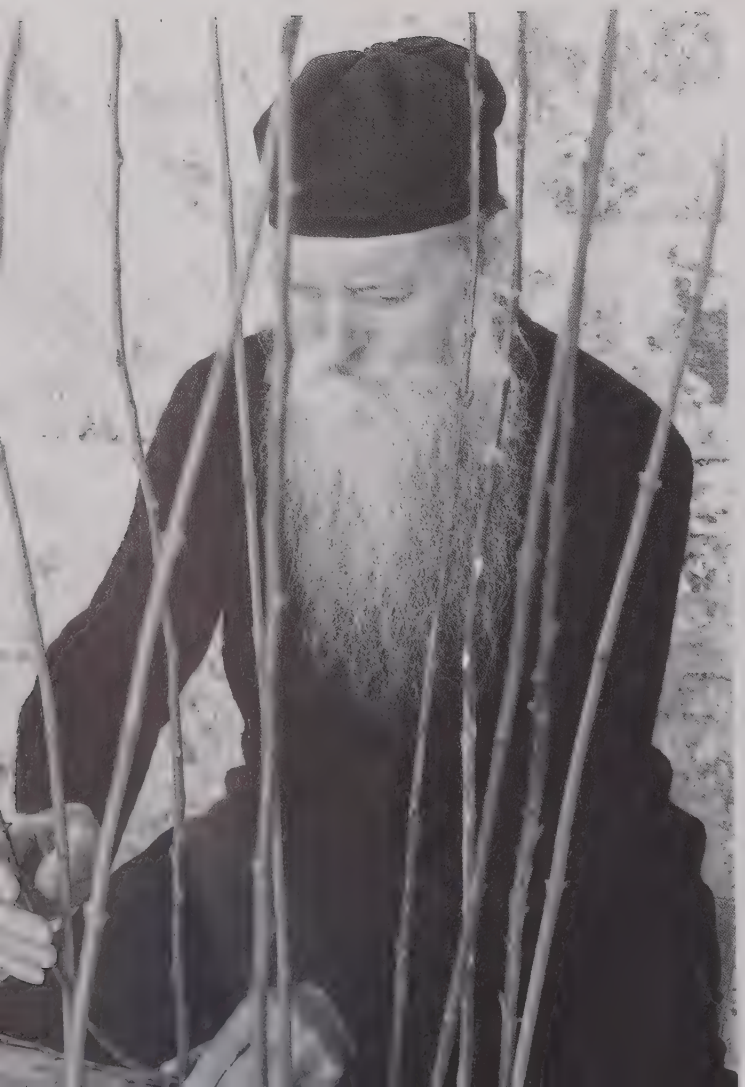


Fig. 77 Basket-weaving.

Fig. 78 Conversation on the balcony.

Fig. 79 'Sharing'.

Revelation 1:5). For this reason, the new life is a feast "with many prayers", a 'paschal' life, a festival of *"the firstborn, which are written in heaven"*(Hebrews 12:22-23), a way of life of angels, whose sole task is the unceasing praise of God. This is precisely the key to the understanding of the monastic life, its theology, its typika and its aims.

It is only if one approaches the monastic typika with these presuppositions that one understands why in monastic worship the tendency is strong to come as close as possible to the ceaseless glorifying of God, either by increasing the traditional seven times of prayer or by extending them by the addition of other liturgical elements. If to these regular shared services we add the private rule of life, meals in the refectory with all their liturgical content and readings, the combination of the allotted task and prayer with the prayer rope and the constant invocation of the Name of Christ, it will be seen that there is very little time remaining which is not filled by this continuing cycle of prayer and worship. Divine worship is not an episode in the time of worldly life, but a permanent state of life. It is a heroic departure from human nature with its love of the material and a bodily assumption into the plenteous world of the celestial orders, the heavenly world of the bridechamber *"where is the pure sound of those that keep a feast"* [7].

Just as the complex of the monasteries' buildings is the visible presentation and prefiguration of the transfiguration of the present world into the City of God, which has *"the glory of God"*, the holy Jerusalem of the Apocalypse (Revelation 21:10 *et seq.*) - why not the New Bethlehem of Simonopetra?—so the monastic typikon is the envisioning and the foretaste of the life of the servants of God in that heavenly city in the age to come: *"But the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him: And they shall see his face; and his name shall be in their foreheads"* (Revelation 22:3-4).

ART

Church Silver

Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos

The adversities which Simonopetra has experienced in the course of its history[1] have left indelible traces on the contents of its sacristy. Fragments are all that remain of the vessels and offerings of its *katholikon*. The entries in the Monastery's codex and the inventories made from time to time of its treasures give a picture of its lost wealth, and the *"list of the objects consumed in the fire of 1891"* [2] bears witness to the extent of one of these disasters. It would seem that only the holy relics have been preserved; concern for these has been constant and paramount[3].

Of the items of ecclesiastical silverware which survive in the Monastery today, most dating from the 17th century onwards, a very few groups of objects make possible certain constructive observations. The close relations of the Monastery with Wallachia in the 17th century are evidenced by a group of objects with Transylvanian characteristics, such as the cup made out of a coconut (fig. 82), the chalice with bosses (fig. 89), the spoons (fig. 268) and the offerings connected with the name of the priest-monk Grigorios (figs 85-86, 90-91). Also of interest is the group of crosses with a carved wooden core (figs 92, 94, 95, 98-101), since they make it possible for us to trace their development, in terms of form, enamel techniques and filigree work, from the turn of the 17th to the beginning of the 19th century. Of the individual pieces, the *katzi* shown in fig. 81, an example of a group of utensils of the 14-15th centuries, and the Russian icon of fig. 80, which is covered with sheets worked with the 'basma' technique, are of importance. The Book of the Gospels in figs 265 and 102 shows Russian niello technique and its influence on Balkan gold and silver work. The works in figs 102 and 267 lead us to local craftsmen who worked on Mt Athos and in the Peloponnese. Finally, there is the Gospel cover, the work of Anastasios Sougdouris (figs 83-84), which is important for our knowledge of the gold and silver smithing of Ioannina.

The oldest piece of metalwork in the sacristy of Simonopetra is, without doubt, a cast *katzi,* made from a copper alloy (fig. 81)[4]. Its undecorated receptacle, apart from the hole intended in all probability for the handle to fit, shows no other traces to indicate the existence of a cover, as is the case with other examples[5]. The openwork extension of the receptacle, decorated with symmetrical schematic plant themes and birds[6], covers the long, added iron handle, fixed with nails, and its support, also of iron. This handle has, perhaps, replaced the original one, which was probably of the same alloy as the katzi itself. The katzi shares its characteristics with a series of other known works, which are dated to the second half of the 14th or the 15th century (katzia in the Benaki Museum, the Great Meteoron[7] and the Janjevo Monastery in Kossovo[8] and a candelabrum from the Dečani Monastery)[9]. To this category belongs a katzi, no account of which has been published, at the Provata *kelli* on the Holy Mountain, which is an example of a less impressive type[10]. These works, together with other lamps and katzia known to us, are evidence of what would seem to have been an important production of cast openwork metal utensils at that period[11].

In this category, it is worth noting another, exceptionally interesting, vessel, made of pewter (fig. 270). Its compressed body with its two handles and four feet is reminiscent of earthenware or metal Byzantine table *kryonteria* (coolers), known to us from the sources and iconography[12].

This identification is supported both by an inscription on a vessel preserved in the Belgrade Ethnographic Museum[13] and by the screw stopper with a link, by which the flask must have been hung in a well for its contents to cool[14]. The Simonopetra cooler has morphological features in common with other known examples of this type preserved in museums in Belgrade (Museum of Applied Arts, National and Ethnographic Museums), Sofia (Ethnographic Museum) and Athens (Benaki Museum). They are variously dated[15]. In the case of the Simonopetra example, the figure on horseback in Western dress with a sceptre in his right hand is reminiscent of princes depicted on coins and medals of the 16th and 17th century[16] and the inscription GARS (or CARS = Carolus?) which accompanies it raise obvious questions about the vessel's provenance. The place of its manufacture is probably to be sought in the region north of the Danube, which had a tradition in such objects[17]. Does the Simonopetra flask reflect the hopes which had been reposed in the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in the face of the Turkish threat? The question remains open[18].

The silver gilt sheets which cover the ground and frame of the Russian icon with the Blessed Virgin of Vladimir, here holding the Holy Child on her left arm (fig. 80)[19], are an example of a very widespread practice in Russian metalwork. Its diffusion was significantly helped, in the 16th and 17th centuries principally, by one of the methods of production, the 'basma' technique, by which the impression of the design on fine sheets of gold or silver was achieved more quickly and at less cost by the use of dies[20]. The different plant and flower designs which co-exist on the plates of this icon were a by no means unusual feature, since the repertoire, particularly of the goldsmiths of Novgorod and Pskov[21], included a large variety of themes. The symmetrically running scrolls which enclose stylised flowers constitute a typical motif of the 16th century. They are frequently framed by a band with small lilies or pearls, or stand out on a punched-relief background[22]. This characteristic feature is visible on the sheets which cover the vertical frames and ground of the icon, where the plant decoration, though repeated, is freer, in a variation of 'basma' which is encountered still in the first half of the 17th century[23]. The halo, in a different style, is a version of a type which was to predominate in the 17th century[24].

It was often believed of the exotic materials which trade over long distances brought to Europe from Asia, Africa, and, later, America, that they possessed unusual properties[25]. In the case of cups made out of coconuts, the use of which was a privilege initially of the ruling class and of the superior clergy, the belief was that they were capable of showing whether the wine they contained had been poisoned. The use of coconut spread to central Europe from the second half of the 16th century thanks to imports from America and the reputation which it had among the rich bourgeois class as a precious material, which was often intricately carved[26], for prestigious objects with curious designs, mounted in precious metals[27]. Nevertheless, the small cup of the priest-monk Neophytos *"from Symopetra"* (fig. 82, illus. 42)[28], shows that such an item —*"a cup of coconut mounted in silver, with foot... gilded"*[29]— in a simpler version, of course, was common even among wealthier monks[30].This hemispherical, undecorated coconut shell, set in silver, rests upon a heavy foot with a multi-lobed base reminiscent of older surviving examples[31]. However, the chased decoration with its arabesques suggests a dating of the work to the first half of the 17th century and an origin in the principalities north of the Danube, where proximity to central Europe and Ottoman expansion were capable of producing forms of art such as this[32]. The entries, moreover, in the Monastery's codex—*"Hungarian cup, Hungarian goblet and Wallachian cup"* reflect the preferences of the age for certain specific types of vessel from those regions[33].

The elegant chalice in fig. 89 is decorated on the calyx with bosses, a feature, from the end of the 15th century, in Germany, Hungary and Transylvania, of the rich, mostly secular, standing cups with a foot, which served in wealthy bourgeois societies as showpieces, initially in town halls and, subsequently, in the houses of the nobility[34]. The customs connected with their use contributed to the fact that even later, in the first half of the 17th century, this type of vessel emerged as the most brilliant example of the neo-Gothic style of Nuremberg and spread over a wide geographical area[35]. In the case of the Simonopetra chalice, the bosses appear in two zones, adapted to the shape of the calyx[36], which terminates above in delicate finely-worked anthemia. By way of contrast with other vessels, the bosses are not repeated on

its high slightly flaring six-lobed base[37], but the applied leaves and precious stones with their flower-shaped settings are retained at the angles of the lobes. The narrow chased band on the base with its schematic leaves, probably Renaissance, is not in the broad openwork form customary in works of the 15th and 16th centuries, particularly in central Europe[38]. These examples are followed by the fine six-sided stem[39] with its compressed knot on which lance-like leaves and circular bosses containing precious stones with flower-shaped mountings[40] alternate. Nonetheless, the crowned maker's mark with the initials MG (fig. 271) indicate that the chalice was made in Braşov after 1600, the date of the introduction of the crown as the characteristic mark of that city for the hallmarking of works in silver[41].

Perhaps of the same provenance are the three spoons in fig. 268. Their long cast patterned handles with the carefully executed finials are typical of the spoons of the 16th and 17th centuries and are related to the German types which became the models for central and northern Europe[42]. They were usually intended for personal use, and for that reason were not made in sets[43]; anyway, their use in the Latin rite was limited[44], while a large number of them had to do with local baptism customs[45]. However, in the inventory of the Monastery's utensils of 1796, it seems that the silver χουλιάρια (spoons) were intended for secular use and are listed together with *"clocks, lamps and all the silverware"* [46], which are clearly distinguished from the category of *"chalices, communion spoons and lances and asteriskoi"* [47]. Another aesthetic approach, inspired by Ottoman art, is represented by the lance (used in the cutting of the Eucharistic bread) with its engraved flowering shoot on a background enamelled in green (fig. 269). The multi-faceted knot which joins the cross-shaped end of the handle to the stem and the floral decoration in the champlevé enamel technique indicate a dating to the second half of the 17th century[48].

The various trends prevailing in the gold and silversmiths' art in the second half of the 17th century are illustrated by a series of important works: first, by the gilt Gospel cover (figs 83-84), which, as we learn from the calligraphic inscription on the bottom part of its back panel was wrought *"by the hand of Anastasios sougdouri of Ioannina"* in Venice in 1671 (illus. 41). The Descent into Hell and the Crucifixion, the principal subjects which decorate each of its panels, have the unusual feature that they also have two seated Evangelists, at full length, together with their symbols, incorporated into the space in which each scene is enacted, but separated from it by a fine border. The balanced scenes, with their many figures, are marked by a restrained nobility, both in the case of the central figures and in that of the groups who surround them and lend vividness with their expressive faces and movements, a detail which is particularly noticeable in the Crucifixion[49], enriched as that is with Western iconographic features, in its unusual Renaissance frame. In the other panel, by way of contrast, the flowering vine, from which busts of saints emerge (Tree of Jesse?), follows iconographic models customary for the period[50]. The meticulous workmanship is evidence of the abilities of Anastasios Sougdouris of Ioannina, as well as of the way in which his work is differentiated from the Venetian silverwork of the time[51]. However, the dissimilarity in the composition of the two panels is indicative of the way in which this craftsman had been influenced in Venice, where members of the Sougdouris family had been established as early as the 16th century as merchants[52]. His contemporary the cleric and man of letters Georgios Sougdouris and the Glykis family of printers[53], to whom he was related, undoubtedly provided that specific background from which he seems to have derived subjects for his work, such as the frame of the back panel of the Gospel, which is reminiscent of engravings[54]. Unfortunately, this work, being the only one of his known to us, does not provide sufficient evidence for us to enter into such matters as his technical training or his ability to produce works 'a la latina'. Nor is comparison with works from Ioannina of the same period possible, since we do not know of any as yet. However, it is worth pointing out that in the centuries which followed, the Sougdouris family continued to distinguish themselves as literati and goldsmiths, a fact to which their surviving works and their reputation testify[55].

This was the period at which, thanks to the activities and connections of the priest-monk Grigorios, the Monastery was enriched with new treasures, as can be seen from the entries in the codex and the inscriptions on the works themselves. Among them is a chalice which Grigorios donated in 1671, and another dedicated in the same year *"by the servants of Christ*

Pourvoulos and Eleni'', undoubtedly through the mediation of Grigorios, who is also mentioned in the inscription. Perhaps these works were among the silverware which, as we are informed by the codex, was handed over by Grigorios to the Monastery on his return from Wallachia, *''when 12 years had gone by and he came to the monastery''* (1673)[56]. Grigorios' offering (fig.91, illus. 43) is dominated by cherubim with their heads in high relief and straps with fruit and plant decoration in low relief, in a local version of mannerism, a style which was common in Transylvania almost to the end of the 17th century[57]. An argument for Transylvanian provenance is the multi-lobed calyx of the other chalice (fig. 90)[58] with the Apostles shown at full length in a Western style, rendered with plasticity in low relief; they are accompanied by Latin inscriptions and discreet floral decoration, in accordance with a trend which prevailed in the second half of the 17th century[59]. Nonetheless, the style of the lower section with its stepped foot, its rich decoration in the floral baroque style and the high relief of the cherubim raises a doubt as to whether the two parts of this chalice are the work of the same craftsman.

The attitudes of mind and practices followed in the case of silverware are described eloquently in a memorandum written by Grigorios himself in a Gospel (figs 85-88)[60]: *''In the year 1657 the present book of the Holy Gospels was dedicated to our Monastery, known as Symopetra, by a certain Christian called Lascaris from a town near Constantinople called Metra —a bare book only without the outer embellishment; in the same year a devout man called Hadzistamatis was engaged to decorate it with silver material, which he willingly did, paying all the cost, but by reason of the inexperience of the goldsmith who did the decoration, there was nothing comely or pleasing about it. After the passage of eight to ten years, I removed it from our Monastery into Wallachia (for there I chanced to be living) and removing the former fashioning of the book as being unskilled and unfitting in such a book, and laying out this silver material of Hadzistamatis, I used it in another making of another holy vessel. Further, when other material had been collected and sent to Prasovi [Braşov] in Hungary with our priest-monk kyr Symeon, certain Christian traders aiding by their good words[61], it was fashioned into the state and condition in which it can now be seen. Which having thus been attended to and finished by me, Grigorios, priest-monk, was duly noted in perpetuam memoriam: in the year of salvation 1677, the 22nd of the month of July''*.

The initiative of the *''humble servant''* of the Lord, the priest-monk Grigorios, and of the *''Orthodox servants who have assisted''* is recorded, as was customary, in the dedicatory inscription on the silver gilt cover of the Gospel (fig. 87, 88, illus. 48). The main scenes on this, the Descent into Hell on the front and the Crucifixion on the back, with the Nativity[62] on a smaller scale, iconographic types with mixed Eastern and Western features, are surrounded by thirteen medallions with scenes from the Apocalypse, rendered as miniatures and inspired by the illustrations of German editions of the Bible in Luther's translation[63]. The iconographic model taken as a starting-point was, it would seem, the cycle with engravings by Cranach (published by M. Lother, 1522), augmented, in a later addition, with five new scenes (published by Luft, 1529 and 1530)[64]. One of them depicts the final defeat of Satan and of the army which he has gathered to besiege *''the beloved city''* (Revelation 20: 7-13). It is interesting that certain features of the recent siege of Vienna by the Turks (1529) are recognisable[65]. Repeated publication in various editions and variations renders the identification of the exact model for the Simonopetra Apocalypse even more difficult.

This composite work, with the characteristics of the workshops of Transylvania, where German models were easily found, bears the maker's mark (fig. 274); furthermore, he has signed it with his initials: VA IC (fig. 275). This is, chronologically, the second example of this type known to us. The earlier one is a cover of 1671 in the Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem[66], which apart from the mark of the craftsman VA IC has a second mark, of similar design, on each panel; this belonged to a goldsmith active between the years 1680 and 1685 with connections with the Voivode of Wallachia Şerban Cantacuzenos[67]. Although that illustration of the Apocalypse is almost identical with the Simonopetra binding, the manner of execution and the details show that this cover is the result of collaboration between the two craftsmen, who were probably related to one another. This probability is strengthened by the fact that a third cover illustrated with scenes from the Apocalypse, also a work with the mark of the craftsman

who made the Simonopetra cover[68], was dedicated in 1681 by this Voivode of Wallachia, Şerban Cantacuzenos, to the Cotročeni Monastery near Bucharest[69].

The group of 'silver-mounted' crosses belonging to Simonopetra includes a few works of the 17th century. One of these is the cross in fig. 93, which is used by the Monastery on solemn occasions as a benediction cross. On its wooden core, under a pointed arch, are depicted, as the principal scenes, the Baptism and the Crucifixion, flanked on the horizontal arms by seated Evangelists and on the upright by the Annunciation and Presentation in the Temple on one side and the Transfiguration and Descent into Hell on the other. The number of figures and the architectural features lend depth to the scenes, which are rendered with plasticity in high relief and, if we are to judge from the inscriptions, are the work of a Greek craftsman. The type of the mount and the quality of the work are reminiscent of similar works dating from the beginning of the 17th century, although the pierced technique is barely perceptible[70]. The rugged silver gilt frame, dated 1629, and the Serbian dedicatory inscription[71] follow the outline of the cross without the intervening divisions; this is a characteristic of older crosses. The mount has features which belong to the workshops of Bosnia and Hercegovina[72]: imitation filigree plaited straps along the sides and, following older, better quality, models[73], an interwoven filigree ring approximately in the middle of the handle, openwork plant decoration of an Ottoman type on the sides and stones with a rectangular or circular base and flower-shaped mountings[74].

A small group of crosses for the blessing of water (figs 92, 94, 95, 98-101) which, in various ways, illustrate the trends of the period, is to be dated to the early 18th century. Their carved wooden cores are executed with a pierced technique which had predominated in the Balkans since the beginning of the 17th century, but in their mounts we can recognise the forms which were to prevail in the centuries which followed. The innovative features are the foot, the cast decoration on the sides and, in the case of the cross in fig. 101, the configuration of the stem. In the case of this silver gilt cross, the delicacy of the decoration, the quality of the workmanship and the unity which exists between the individual parts constitute a new approach without references to the past, which could only be the product of an important centre. The floral baroque decoration on the base had been a familiar feature in works from Transylvania and in Constantinople embroidery since the final decades of the 17th century. The stem with its small fine knots is encountered in small crosses dating from around 1700, in which it may also have cast cherubim with plant-shaped wings, as is the case here. It may be added that the manner of execution, with the alternation of dull matted with shiny surfaces, is a characteristic of works belonging to the early 18th century, a fact evidenced by a monumental cross dated 1711 in the Monastery of St John the Divine on Patmos[75].

In the case of the crosses in figs 98 and 100, the cast features on the sides, though simplistic and awkward, provide an interesting variation, obviously derived from a provincial workshop, enriched with praying figures intertwined with purely schematic plant decoration and birds. The polygonal termination of the cross in fig. 100—a relic of the crosses of the 17th century—has the addition, probably by the same craftsman, of a triangular base with snake-shaped finials, which is unusual, but nevertheless matches it stylistically.

The same could not be said of the base of the cross in fig. 98, which obviously was not originally made for it. It has recorded on it the names of its owner, the priest-monk Philemon[76], and of the goldsmith Dimitris, who are also named on another holy water cross belonging to the Monastery (fig. 92), of which this was, in all probability originally the base. On the carved, pierced wood of its core stylistic characteristics which probably belong to the early 18th century are identifiable, together with certain peculiarities in its shape and iconographic programme. The usual scenes on each side, the Baptism and the Crucifixion, are flanked on the arms by Fathers, martyrs and saints, but on the broadened upright the scenes depicted are those usual in the *panagiaria* of that period: 'The Vine'[77] and 'The Prophets from on high'. Finally, at the very bottom of each side there are full-length portrayals of Sts Simon and Mary Magdalene as being saints with a connection with the Monastery; these are, however, in all likelihood, later interventions, since stylistically they do not match the work as a whole. On the mount of the cross, decorated with filigree enamels, the goldsmith Dimitris has followed, if not always

to perfection, the pattern familiar since the 17th century, but he has shown originality in the addition of the base, even if the result cannot be regarded as wholly successful.

It would seem that this Dimitris was no stranger to Mt Athos, since there are in the Megiste Laura Monastery two virtually identical crosses with filigree enamels related to those on the Simonopetra cross and a base similar to that in fig. 98. The name of Dimitris occurs on one of these crosses, both on the stem and on the base, together with the dates 1724 and 1713, respectively[78]. It would appear, then, that in the early 18th century, Dimitris, in conformity with the demands of fashion and, perhaps, some change in the ritual, either converted some benediction crosses (without a base) into crosses for the blessing of water (with a base) or intended to make holy water crosses, but did not have the models which had already taken shape, which would have helped him to harmonise stylistically the base with the main body of the cross. It is a fact that from that time onwards, crosses with a base become more common, having first made their appearance at the end of the 17th century at the major centres[79].

This new tendency, in the form it had taken by approximately the mid 18th century, finds expression in the silver gilt holy water cross in fig. 95. A stem with filigree rings, relics of the knots of the 17th century, rests on a circular base. The wooden core, embellished with scenes from the New Testament, plays a secondary role, since interest has been transferred to the mounting, where complex plant-shaped compositions in fine flat or twisted wire, with flowers at the angles of the arms, acquire mass and movement. Colour is lent to this setting, which is entirely in keeping with the spirit of baroque, by dark green enamels on the interior of the filigree ornament, the red stones and the seed pearls. These characteristics are shared by a group of crosses in the sacristy of the Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem, but there is no evidence for their place of origin or date. It is, however, a fact that, on the evidence of a chalice in the Monastery of St John the Divine on Patmos (1753)[80], filigree green enamels of a similar type were already in use in the mid 18th century and that, in the category of crosses, to judge by dated examples of the second half of the 18th century —though of somewhat different style— enamels do not seem to have been on an equal footing with filigree technique[81]. The fashion for filigree was, anyway, one of the dominant tendencies of the 18th century. In Greece itself it is encountered in the jewellery of the islands of the Ionian and the Aegean[82], where it is a result of special local features and commercial dealings with the wider Mediterranean area[83], where, from an earlier date, as in other parts of Europe, it was customary even in objects of larger dimensions[84].

Filigree technique, in the form in which it appears in a category of cross which was widely current from the end of the 18th to the mid 19th century, is represented by a holy water cross belonging to the priest-monk Parthenios (fig. 94). This has scenes from the life of Christ and of the Virgin and seated Evangelists on its carved wood pierced core. The chief characteristics of the metal mounting of this group are the exuberant filigree knots, such as that on the top of the stem, the extensions on the arms, the finial flanked with facing dragons and the plant and flower decoration. In the case of the Simonopetra cross, the filigree ornament on the finial suggest that in certain other examples they must have been filled in with enamel, preferably green[85]. These features appear in many variations in dated works, extending from 1793 to 1856, known to us so far, but do not make possible their more detailed classification[86]. The presence, however, of such crosses in a considerable number of sacristies and museums in the Balkans[87] is evidence of how widely disseminated the genre was and leads to the hypothesis that there was more than one place of production.

There are many similarities of construction and style between the cross in fig. 95 and the mount of the episcopal *enkolpion* in fig. 96, and it is by no means improbable that the two works are from the same workshop[88]. On its carved wooden core St George is depicted in the scene of the slaying of the dragon; the little freed slave sits on the haunches of his rearing horse, while the princess can be seen on the right. The scene, although probably based on a good iconographic model, is more reminiscent of engravings, as it is rendered entirely in linear and stylised terms, without mass, a style which was to become prevalent in the late 17th and early 18th centuries[89].

There are connections between the way in which the carved wooden core is rendered and the filigree mount with the *panagiarion/episcopal enkolpion,* on which the Virgin is depicted

Fig. 80 Icon with silver cover (height: 317). Russia. 16th-17th century (pp. 163, 164).

Fig. 81 Katzi (length: 287). Second half of the 14th-15th century (p. 163).

Fig. 83 *Gospel cover (height: 346). Work of Anastasios Sougdouris of Ioannina. Venice. 1671 (pp. 163, 165).* →

Fig. 84 *Reverse of the cover in fig. 83 (pp. 163, 165).* →

Fig. 85 *Gospel cover (height: 275). Work of the Transylvanian goldsmith VA IC. 1677 (pp. 163, 166).* →

Fig. 86 *The reverse of the Gospel cover in fig. 85 (pp. 163, 166).* →

Fig. 82 *Cup from coconut shell with silver mounting (height: 110). 17th century (pp. 163, 164).*

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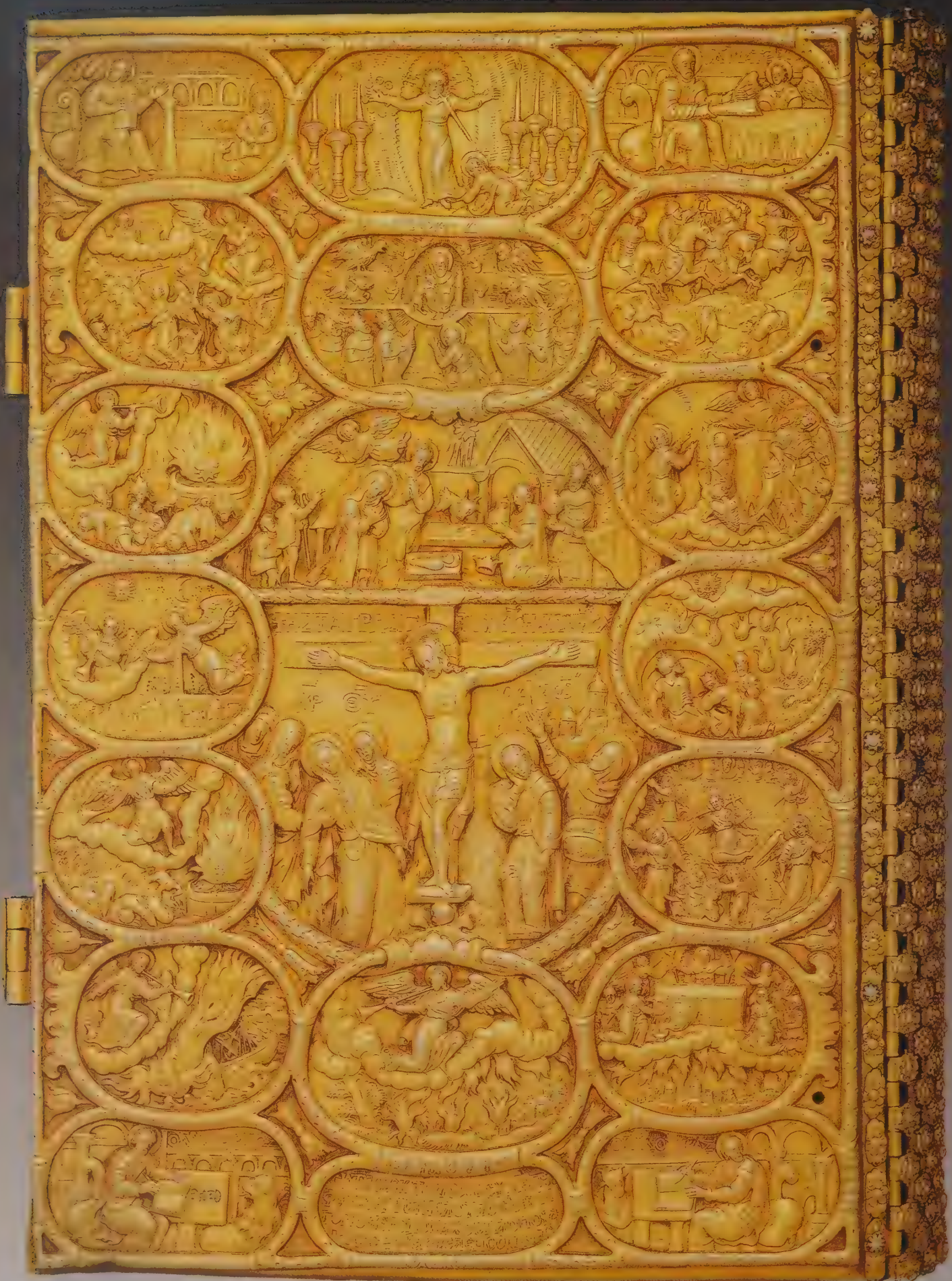

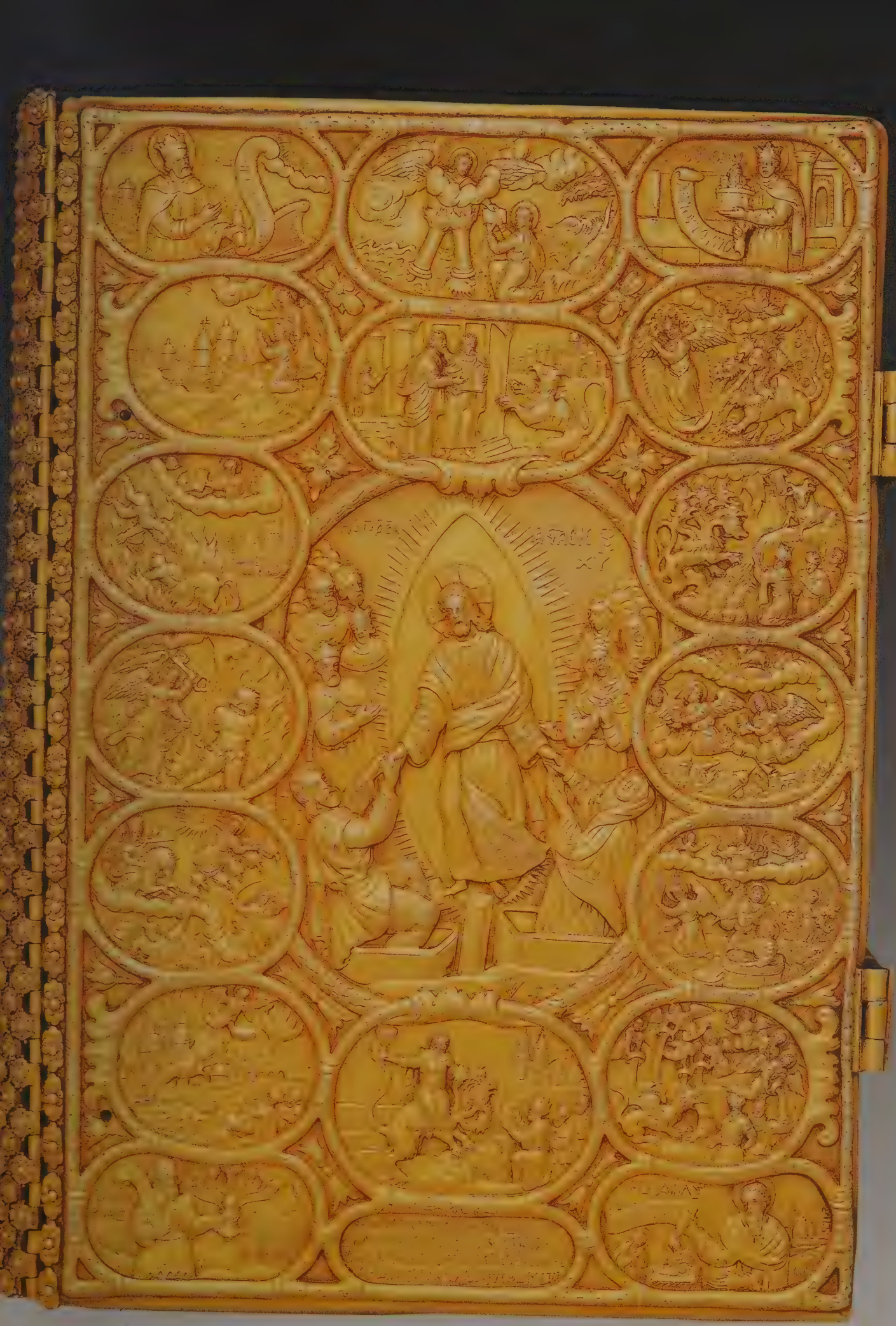

Fig. 87, 88 Details of the Gospel cover in figs 85 and 86 (p. 166).

Fig. 89 Chalice (height: 292). Work of the Braşov goldsmith MG. 17th century (pp. 163, 164).

Fig. 90 Chalice (height: 285). Transylvania. 1671 (pp. 163, 166).

Fig. 91 Chalice (height: 255). Transylvania. 1671 (pp. 163, 166).

Fig. 92 *Holy water cross (height: 230). Work of the goldsmith Dimitris. Early 18th century (pp. 163, 167).*

Fig. 93 *Benediction cross (height: 256). Bosnia - Hercegovina. 1628/29 (p. 167).*

Fig. 94 *Holy water cross (height: 290). Late 18th - early 19th century (pp. 163, 167, 168).*

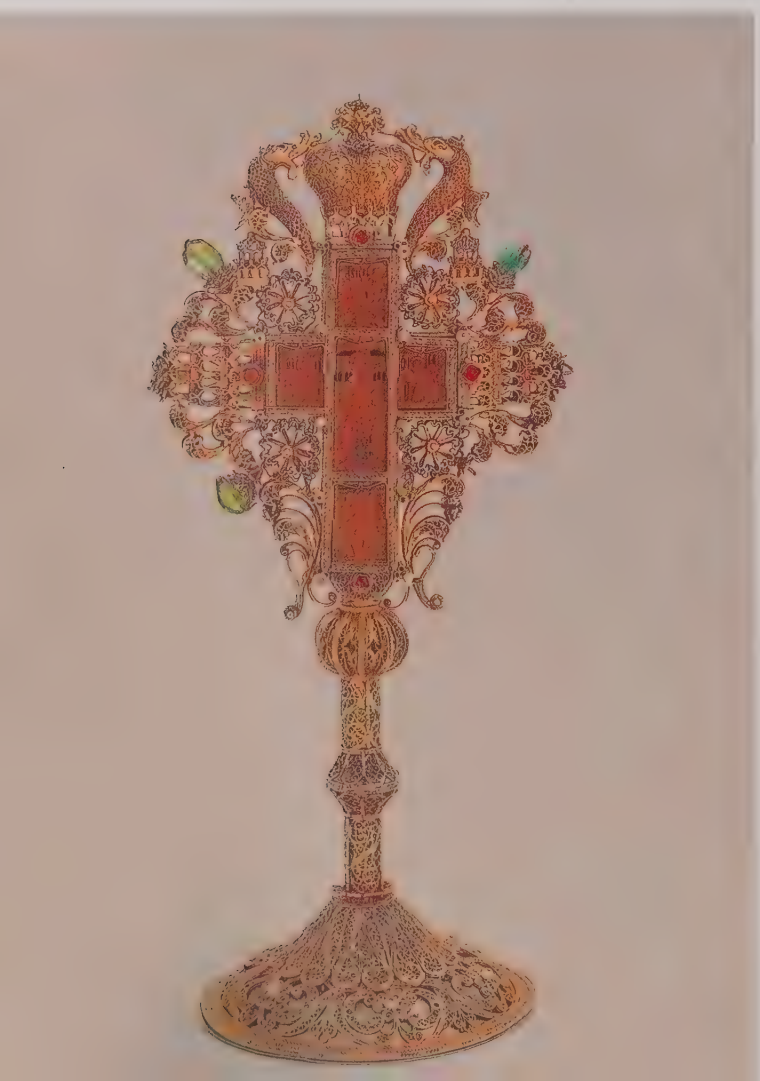

Fig. 95 *Holy water cross (height: 230). Second half of the 18th century (pp. 163, 167, 168).*

Fig. 96 *Episcopal enkolpion (height: 150). Second half of the 18th century (p. 168).*

Fig. 97 *Episcopal enkolpion-panagiarion (diameter: 090). Second half of the 18th century (p. 185).*

Fig. 98
Holy water cross
(height: 205).
Early 18th century
(pp. 163, 167, 168).

Fig. 99
Holy water cross
(height: 210). 1790
(pp. 163, 167, 185).

Fig. 100
Holy water cross
(height: 225).
Early 18th century
(pp. 163, 167).

Fig. 101
Holy water cross
(height: 235).
Late 17th - early
18th century
(pp. 163, 167).

Fig. 102 *Cover of a four-gospel book (height: 218). Work of the Kruševo engraver and goldsmith Thomas I. Pento. Karyes. 1849 (pp. 163, 185).*

Fig. 103 Detail of reliquary.

Fig. 104 Detail of kivotion. Moscow. 1895 (pp. 75, 186).

holding the Holy Child, surrounded by vegetation with busts of prophets, in the composition known as 'The Prophets from on high' (fig. 97)[90]. On the inside sheet, framing the faces, the filigree vegetal ornaments stand out on an enamelled background in two shades of green. The outer filigree mount follows the prevailing mode of the period.

Older forms do not, however, seem to have been abandoned even at the end of the 18th century, as can be seen from the cross of the former Abbot Kalliopios, dated 1790 (fig. 99), and, in spite of the fact that an attempt at renovation has been made with the filigree decoration at the angles of the arms and the disproportionate additions at their terminals, the work as a whole is hardly harmonious.

An example of a practice which, thanks to increased prosperity, was followed more and more from around the mid 18th century, and not only for iconostasis icons, is furnished by the icon of Our Lady Hodegetria with a silver cover (fig. 266). A memorandum written on the reverse in ink relates its history: *"In the year 1625, coming from Muscovy, the present icon of the Theotokos Hodegetria was dedicated by me the priest-monk Arsenios in the katholikon of Simonopetra"*. It is recorded on the silver cover that it was painted in the year 1620, while its history is supplemented by the inscription: ADORNED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE MOST VENERABLE HOLY ABBOT OF THIS MONASTERY AND HOLY ARCHIMANDRITE OF HERAKLEIA DOMINUS KYR IOAKEIM 1776[91]. The decoration of the cover is dominated by the insubstantial motifs of rococo[92], such as open roses, rocailles and rhombuses, in compositions which evidence local variations on this style in mainland Greece and Asia Minor workshops[93]. Of interest is its adaptation to Orthodox ecclesiastical objects, in a form of execution which, as is the case here, differs widely from equivalent Western European works. The existence of an imitation of a tuğra on the halo suggests, perhaps, a Constantinople provenance[94].

A small copy of the four Gospels stands out amongst the Monastery's 19th century works. It has a gilt cover from Moscow, decorated with scenes in which niello predominates (fig. 265). Perhaps this is to be identified with the *"small 4-gospel book, niello, Russian"* which the Metropolitan of Dryinoupolis, Delvinon and Cheimara gave to the Monastery in 1868 when he joined its brotherhood[95]. The centre of the front panel is occupied by the Resurrection of Christ, around which scenes from the life of Christ and of the Virgin are arranged in three vertical zones. The back has a scene illustrating the hymn "In Thee Rejoices" [96] from the Liturgy of St Basil, while in the corners the Nativity and Baptism of Christ are depicted. In the foreground the figure of St John of Damascus, writer of hymns to the Virgin, predominates. The Jacob's Ladder depicted on the spine also refers symbolically to the Virgin Mary. These scenes, actual engravings enhanced with niello, are brought out by the way in which they stand out against the gilt background and impress by the sharp contrast between the gold and the black. It cannot be argued that this cover is one of the best examples of this technique, which reached its high point in Velikiy Ustjug, chiefly, in the second half of the 18th century[97]. The scenes are on the same plane as the ground, which itself is not particularly carefully executed, the outlines are harder and the figures somewhat out of proportion and flat. The mark of the city of Moscow (fig. 272)[98] settles the question of its place of origin and the marks of purity (84 zolotniki) give the quality of the metal (fig. 272)[99]. The stamp with the initials I.Z. (in Cyrillic script) certifies that this is the work of Ivan Zajcev, who was active between the years 1807 and 1849 (fig. 273), while the stamp with the initials of the assayer Ivan Vikhljaev with the date 1815 provides a *terminus ante quem* for the making of the cover (fig. 272)[100].

The fashion for niello technique, apart from the refined works of the Russian bourgeoisie, found a variety of applications —if of lower quality— to jewellery and ecclesiastical and other utensils and became one of the most popular of the whole of the 19th century in the southern Balkans. The silver gilt cover of the book of the Gospels in fig. 102 is a representative example of its application to church silverware, and particularly to a genre typical of that century[101]. The niello here emphasises the depictions of the Evangelists and the Resurrection engraved on metal (front panel), while the Synaxis of the Archangels which frames, with a studied gradation of the planes in low relief, the central scene forms the stylistic link with the back panel. This is occupied by the Crucifixion, framed by rocailles, with full-length figures of prophets in the

corners. On the spine, shoots intertwining with rococo decoration encircle bouquets of flowers. The forms, inspired by works in the style of Tzimouris[102], with the soft flowing folds, which bear a relation, as do the secondary features, to contemporary engravings[103], executed in a masterly manner, in spite of some slight affectation, point to an experienced craftsman. The inscription *"by the hand of Thomas son of Isidoros Pento from Krousiovo [Kruševo] 1849"* supplies the identification: the engraver and goldsmith Thomas, son of Isidoros (or Sideris or Sidri) Pento, also known on the Holy Mountain for other works[104], was from the metalwork centre of Krusevo[105]. It seems, moreover, that the workshops on Athos in the mid 19th century specialised in the production of covers for the four Gospels together or single Gospels; evidence for this is provided by the works which survive and the entries in the monasteries' accounts books[106].

The reliquary in fig. 267 is not one of the best examples of metalwork of the early 19th century and the weaknesses in the design and execution mark it as a provincial routine production. It is, nevertheless, worth noticing, since it belongs to a series of reliquaries with related characteristics and wide distribution[107]. These are rectangular in shape with a trough-shaped lid on the upper surface of which a scene from the Christological or Marian cycles appears. Their iconographic programme includes other scenes from these cycles, the *Deesis,* the Apostles beneath arches, saints, Fathers, cherubim and plant and geometrical decorations in various combinations, versions and positions. It is obvious that the narrative scenes, framed by plant decoration, and the individual figures are following some common models. They are rendered schematically in low relief and, often, openwork technique, usual at that period in Gospel covers from the workshops of the Ionian Islands[108]. However, their more frequent presence in the sacristies of monasteries in the Peloponnese suggests the thought that their provenance should be sought there. Moreover, the Simonopetra reliquary, according to its dedicatory inscription, had been originally dedicated to the Monastery of Our Lady Chrysopodaroussa (or Chrysopodaritissa) in the Nezera area of the northern Peloponnese[109]. A similar reliquary in the Voulkano Monastery in Messenia, dated 1819, is signed by Athanasios Moukios[110], whose family name occurs on a holy water cross dated as early as 1683 in the Monastery of St Catherine on Mt Sinai, a work by Georgios Moukios, a goldsmith of Stemnitsa[111]. Given this, it would not be unreasonable to assume that reliquaries of this type were works of goldsmiths from Stemnitsa, a centre very active in the production of metalwork at that period.

In the accounts books of the Monastery, which provide us with a mirror of its everyday life, many 19th century entries refer to the craftsmen who supplied current needs: workers in copper and bronze, clockmakers, goldsmiths. The latter, whether monks working at the *kalyva* of the Thomades or laymen living on the Holy Mountain, repaired and cleaned the holy vessels, carved seals and supplied the Monastery with the materials necessary for this, for example, nitric acid. Sometimes payment was in kind: *"1851 December 16, 30 piastres to the goldsmith Christos for mending the katzi of the church and 20 lemons"* [112]. Major works were ordered from these goldsmiths, which are fully reported[113]. Nevertheless, Vienna and Moscow remained the important centres. A Gospel cover with painted enamels and a *kivotion,* also enamelled (fig. 104) bear witness to this: *"1895, December 10. To the Muscovite goldsmith Antipas I. Kosmitsof for a kivotion which he made for us by means of the R[ussian] M[onastery] at 50 roubles"* [114].

A complete study of the sacristy will undoubtedly bring to light new data for the history of Simonopetra and that of gold and silverwork.

Icons

S. Kissas

The word 'icon' (from the Greek verb εἴκω, meaning 'to resemble') denotes the representation of a model in figurative form. In the early centuries of Christianity, representations of persons, scenes from their life and symbols were either commemorative monuments or allegorical depictions of salvation in Christ. The Church's initially negative attitude towards figurative representations of all kinds changed when Christianity rose to predominance as the official religion of the Roman state. With the growth of the cults of saints and their relics, icons progressively developed a connection with worship which, since then, has been their principal characteristic. The theological debate over the necessity or otherwise of icons in worship crystallised in the positive doctrinal position adopted by the Second Council of Nicaea (787), but this position was not finally accepted until the eventual restoration of the icons in 843, at the end of the Iconoclastic Controvery, the most severe internal dispute to shake Byzantium. In the end, the term 'icon' came to be used to describe small-scale representations of holy personages rendered by a number of different techniques on a variety of materials. Such representations acquired particular significance for worship because they could be moved from place to place. A very small number of these icons, usually showing Christ or Our Lady, were created in a miraculous manner and not by the hand of an artist (such an icon is described as *acheiropoietos*, i.e., not made by hand). Other icons are associated with miracles (miracle-working icons) and these occupy an important position in Orthodox life. Apart from their special significance in worship, icons were also accepted as works of art, as can be seen in the descriptions ('ekphraseis') of various writers. In late-Byzantine times, these descriptions also included artistic analysis of the composition, the colours and the mental disposition of the persons depicted.

The monasteries of Mt Athos have preserved down to our times a significant number of icons, many of which are still used in worship. Among these, the miracle-working icons occupy a position of particular significance; most of them depict Our Lady, under whose protection Mt Athos has been since the very inception of monasticism there. Apart from their value as points of reference for worship, these icons are of great importance for the study of the development of the figurative arts in Byzantium and in the eras which followed, spanning a period of more than a thousand years. The research work done so far has been sporadic, and has involved either the earliest icons or the work of specific artists. There are no systematic catalogues to help in the task of classifying all the material and extracting irrefutable conclusions.

The fire of 1891 ruined the paintings which adorned the *katholikon* and the refectory of Simonopetra. The damage which it caused to the icons on the screen is evident in the fact that none of the surviving icons can with certainty be attributed to it[1]. The constitution of the present collection is indicative of the extent of the loss.The limited number of small groups which can be seen today originated in the Monastery's *kellia, metochia* and other dependencies. However, although they have been incompletely preserved, the icons of Simonopetra constitute an entity of interest for a study of icon-painting in general and of the work produced on Mt Athos in particular.

The works presented in this text have not been selected on criteria of quality alone; an attempt has been made to ensure that all the historic and subsequent periods are represented, since the variety of themes and artistic trends which can be discerned constitutes a record, in figurative language, of the spiritual life of the Monastery throughout its history.

The Byzantine period *per se* is represented by the sanctuary doors preserved in the sacristy of the Monastery, showing the Annunciation (fig. 105). On the left is the Archangel Gabriel, holding a wand in one hand and extending the other in a gesture of speech. On the right, Mary, in an attitude of humility, accepts the Divine Will. The Archangel is dressed in a deep blue tunic and an olive-green cloak. Our Lady is depicted in a deep blue tunic, a purple *maphorion* and a striped azure kerchief. In her left hand, held down tight against her body,

is a distaff with red thread wrapped around it. The figures are placed in an non-realistic setting bounded by a green ground and a gold background.

The figures in this icon stand out for their nobility of movement and profoundly classical concept of form and expression. The soft dark tones of the flesh lighten to a rosy colour on the cheeks, while delicate white lines arranged in parallel cast light on the cheekbones, the forehead, the nose and the cheeks. The folds of the garments have been carefully worked, with natural thick lines and well-lit planes on the loose draperies of each figure. The faces, in this scene, seem absorbed in the great mystery of the moment and are entirely cut off from the world outside. The freedom of movement to be seen in the icons of the early 14th century has been succeeded by a calmness of posture and the inward concentration of the figures depicted. The austere setting allows these elements to predominate. Despite the undoubted turning back to models of the early Palaeologue period (folds of the garments, colour quality), the atmosphere is quite different. The nearest equivalent to the painting of these sanctuary doors could be sought in the wall-paintings of the Perivleptos Convent at Mystras, and particularly in the work of the painter who produced the Divine Service[2]. I believe that this icon should be dated to the seventh or eighth decade of the 14th century, and that we should attribute it to an outstanding artist at one of the important centres (Constantinople, Thessaloniki).

A series of interesting icons of the 15th century has survived in the Monastery. In the icon of Our Lady Hope of the Despairing (fig. 106), the Virgin, holding the Holy Child on her left arm, is being approached —to the right and left of her halo— by two angels shown in bust form, doing reverence. It is relatively rare for the figure of the Virgin to be so slender. The Christ-child, seated on his mother's arm in an uncommon attitude, is dressed only in a tunic, which is open in front and allows his neck to show. The masses of the face are circumscribed by a broad line. The flesh of all the figures is rendered in dark ochre, with somewhat harsh lightenings. Although there are very few other examples with which this icon can be compared, it is possible to attribute it to a Northern Greek workshop of the late 15th century, although features which were unknown in earlier times (e.g., the floral decoration on the gold and tightly-closed maphorion) might point to a still later date.

It is to this period, too, that we should assign an icon with an austere and unaffected representation of the Dormition of the Virgin (fig. 109). Despite the knowledge of the Palaeologue tradition which is manifest in the manner in which the faces are shaped, the atmosphere of the painting directs us towards a more recent period. The bodies of the figures are relatively slender, and the folds of the garments are harsh and angular. The cheekbones are picked out by a curved red line. The brownish tones of the flesh are lit by sharp, abrupt lightenings. Elements of importance for dating the icon are the manner in which Christ's elliptical nimbus is lit, and the branches which can be seen behind the buildings in the background. The painter of the Dormition approaches traditional elements in an eclectic manner, thereby creating a personal composition. This icon should be attributed to a Northern Greek workshop of the second half of the 15th century.

Quite a different trend is represented by the icon of the Nativity of St John the Baptist (fig. 108). The fundamental element in this composition is its joyful atmosphere, achieved principally by means of the external features. The complex decoration of the architectural members in the background, the embroidered dresses of the hand-maidens and the floral decorative motifs of the frame serve to emphasis still further the secular element. These characteristics, in conjunction with the typology of the faces, lead us to describe this work as a painting from the Central Balkans, dating from the second half of the 15th century. The school to which it belongs was represented by the Schools of Ochrid and, in particular, of Kastoria[3].

There are certain problems related to the icon showing St Catherine (fig. 112). The young martyr is shown as a princess within a frame topped by an arch. She is clad in a rich deep purple tunic decorated with gold floral motifs, brooches set with precious stones and a clasp. Over this, she is wearing a purple cloak with gold decoration, clasps set with precious stones and brooches on the shoulders. In one hand she is holding an Easter cross decorated with precious stones and pearls, while the other is raised to breast-level with the palm outwards.

The conical neck supports a young female head shaped with great refinement. The broad highlights confidently render the rosy flesh. The head is covered with a red cloth and a heavy

five-pointed crown decorated with crosses set with stones and rows of pearls. Her earrings, with their rare elliptical triple pendants, are also precious. The painter who produced this icon of St Catherine returned to Palaeologue models for the external features. The nobility of the figure, with the gentle moulding of the flesh, and the accuracy and sureness of the use of highlights testify to a knowledge of the recent achievements of the Cretan school of painting and point to a date in the second half of the 15th century[4].

The icon of Our Lady 'Pantanassa' ('the Queen of All'), donated by Athanasios, Metropolitan of Nicaea (fig. 107), probably dates from the third decade of the 16th century. We know from a document in Docheiariou Monastery[5] that the donor was on Mt Athos in 1528. The slender form of Christ, effectively recumbent in the Virgin's embrace, is characteristic. The human aspect of the moment captured can be seen in the fact that Christ is not giving the blessing, as is usual. The Virgin's face is reminiscent of an earlier model of which this icon appears to be a copy. Painted at a time at which the Cretan School was making great advances, this icon is dominated by the arid and formalised manner in which the flesh is rendered. For the present, it is difficult to assign this icon to any specific workshop or broader circle of painters.

The wonderfully-executed small icon of the Dormition (fig. 111) is of a later date. The unknown artist makes use of warm colour tones, and, from the stylistic point of view, its closest parallel is the work by the painter Dimitrios, on the same subject, in the Slepče Monastery (1537-1541)[6]. This work belongs to the Northern Greek tradition, which was not as yet acquainted with the achievements of the Cretan School as these penetrated Mt Athos in the work of the great painter Theophanis. It could be dated to the first third of the 16th century.

The 17th century icons of Simonopetra reflect the general decline in the quality of painting at this time. Without doubt, the icon of Our Lady 'Pammakaristos' (the 'All-Blessed', fig. 115) is the work of a local workshop on Mt Athos. From the typological point of view, this icon is connected with earlier models. Although the technique is excellent, the colours are a little harsh and the folds of the garments are affected, which leads to the dating to the early 17th century.

The first half of the 17th century must also have been the time when the small icon showing St John the Divine and his disciple Prochorus (fig. 117). This icon lies within the tradition of the Cretan School but does not rise above mediocrity, despite the pleasant impression which, as an overall composition, it creates[7]. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that this is a work of a later date which has copied an older model, if the inscription with the date 1730 on the reverse refers to the time when it was painted.

The icon of three saints, of which two-thirds has survived (fig. 114), and the rood figures 'Lyperon', including St John the Divine (fig. 113), must have belonged to a screen group. These are harsh and formalised works, with the masses rendered in a linear manner. They should be dated to the mid 17th century[8].

The representation of the Nativity of Christ (fig. 116) is idyllic in atmosphere and should, perhaps, be dated to slightly after the middle of the century. This is the work of a local workshop, either on Mt Athos or somewhere in Northern Greece. The painter, whose name has not come down to us, worked very quickly, creating conventional planes in the composition. The faces of the figures are rendered in terms of contrasts between light and shadow, and the eyes are brought to life with a glancing white brush-stroke in their corners.

The icon of Our Lady bearing the painter's inscription *"by the toil of Nikandros, monk and elder"* is of exceptional importance for the study of icon-painting on Mt Athos during the 17th century and for our knowledge of the way in which the workshops were organised. Without going into an analysis of the inscription, we should perhaps stress the features of this painter which we can also see in three other icons in the Monastery: the red outline which marks the outer edges of the face and the nose, and the halo which is surrounded by a matted line and has a series of intersected matted arches inside it. Although Nikandros was far from a great painter, his work nonetheless stands out for its painstakingness. We can date his works to the mid 17th century[9]. Among his icons is that of Christ with the rare epithet 'the Meek' ('Glykys') (fig. 125). This icon has the same dimensions as that described immediately above, and they undoubtedly come from the same set, probably having been affixed to the screen in one of the Monastery's chapels[10].

The icon showing All Saints (fig. 110) is the work of an Athonite workshop. It is notable for the high level of technical refinement with which it was executed, but it has little new to add in terms either of content or of technique.

The small bizonal icon showing, above, Sts John the Divine and Artemius flanking an enthroned Virgin and, below, Sts Antony, Athanasius the Athonite, John of Rila and Paraskeve of Thrace, brings us into the 18th century, a period which can be described as productive for the artistic output of Mt Athos (fig. 118). The inclusion of Sts John of Rila and Paraskeve of Thrace, which are accompanied by Slavonic inscriptions, is indicative of some relationship between this icon and the Zographou Monastery or one of its dependencies. The manner of painting lies within the traditional framework, and the icon can be dated to the late 17th century.

Most of the icons in Simonopetra belong to the 18th century, and can be divided into groups according to the workshops where they were painted. This material reveals the tremendous dynamism of artistic life on Mt Athos at this time. The theoretical pronouncements of Dionysios of Fournas had an impact on all the work produced, and the Holy Mountain was flooded with copies of Palaeologue work. The differences between the workshops or individual painters lie in the manner in which they approach and interpret the models[11]. Yet few of these painters were able to rework the traditional elements in a creative manner; most failed to rise above sterile imitation. However, there were also workshops which consciously applied a local and anti-classical concept, and these continued to produce icons[12].

The icon of St Hypatius, with six scenes from his life (figs 119, 120), is connected with this anti-classical trend in Athonite painting, which can be seen in a multitude of works covering the whole of the 18th century. The figures in the scenes from the life of the Saint are particularly typical of this trend. The anti-classical workshop first appeared in the early 18th century and operated on Mt Athos and in Thessaloniki, producing works which impress for their volume and quality. It was active throughout the 18th century and can be seen in the work of three generations of painters. The icon of St Hypatius can be dated to the second or third decade of the 18th century[13]. A series of icons in the Monastery today come from the same workshop or a painter in it. In them, the wood itself or the additional frame is usually adorned with painted plant motifs. Although produced in large numbers, these works stand out for their excellent technical quality and their steadfast hold on tradition, although some foreign influences can be seen in certain of the external features. One of the best-preserved examples of the work of this workshop is the icon of Sts Eleutherius, Charalampus and Procopius, which should be dated to around 1730[14]. The same tradition was also followed by the workshop which produced the icon of St Mary Magdalene and St Simon holding a model of the katholikon (fig. 124).This icon, which has a particular connection with the Monastery, is contemporary with those cited above[15]. The small icon of St Theophanes of Naoussa is significant not so much for the quality of the painting as for its testimony to the cult of this Athonite saint (fig. 123). The unknown painter has attempted to give a faithful rendition of the facial characteristics of his subject[16].

The last icon to be presented here is a tracing of the Crucifixion of Christ found in the Monastery archive (fig. 126). We cannot be certain as to the exact meaning of its presence here: does it testify to a workshop of painters centring on the Monastery or one of its dependencies, or was it simply left by a team of painters who happened to work there?

To conclude, the Monastery possesses a number of 19th century icons, particularly from the workshop of painters from Galatista.

The nature of this text has not permitted exhaustive comparisons between the icons of Simonopetra and other works. However, it should be borne in mind that all the conclusions reached here have been the result of systematic study of the material. Detailed and analytical comments will have to await a systematic catalogue which, at some point in the future, will contain all the facts required by modern research and will cover all the Monastery's icons.

Gold-embroidered Vestments

M. Theocharis

Byzantine gold embroideries played an important role in the burgeoning of imperial omnipotence. A pagan doctrine, transplanted to Byzantium, held that the Emperor was not a mere mortal, but the elect of Divine Providence, the image of God upon earth. This doctrine, which is set forth in all its fullness by Eusebius and repeated by later Byzantine writers, gave the Emperor double authority: that of high priest and of king. Rituals, hymns, prayers followed a form whose aim was to magnify the power of the Emperor, to make his sway respected by his allies and terrible to his enemies. In the palace ceremonies special garments, to which a mystical symbolism was ascribed, and draperies which adorned the reception halls on major feast days and the visits of heads of state or ambassadors were employed. A special chamber, the great wardrobe of the Pentapyrgion, gave, when its portals stood wide open, the opportunity to Byzantines and foreigners alike to marvel at the precious materials kept there.

The liturgy of the Church borrowed many of the forms of the palace ritual; and here too strict rules determined the robes appropriate to each ceremony. The church sacristy was the Pentapyrgion in miniature. The role of the deacon, whose right and duty it was to assist the priest or bishop, was reminiscent of that of the *protovestiarios*, the only functionary who had the right to touch the sacred person of the Emperor, *"none of all the other nobles having leave so to do"*. The exposition of the valuable vestments in the sacristy on great festivals or the feast of the patron saint took place in parallel with the showing of the robes in the Pentapyrgion. After the Fall of Constantinople, the use of vestments became limited to the Patriarch and the Church.

The Holy Mountain of Athos played an important religious and political role which was decisive for those peoples who laid claim to the heritage of the Empire. The major gifts of the benefactors and founders of the monasteries and the largesse of princes bear witness to this interest (Nastase, 1976). Among such gifts is a large number of vestments, and when their dedicatory inscriptions come to be collected, they will throw light on an aspect of this, as yet, untold story.

The monasteries of the Holy Mountain are of the utmost importance for late Byzantine art —with their libraries, the large number of illustrated manuscripts and the treasures in their sacristies: silverware and sumptuous vestments. The monks of Athos travelled to every distant corner of the Orthodox world and brought back to their monasteries not only piastres but also precious vestments and sacred utensils. Of these vestments, very few are known: those which have been described by Beza, Kondakov and Millet, and those of the Stavroniketa Monastery (Theocharis, 1974, 143-237). The monasteries of the Holy Mountain have in their possession a rich collection of gold embroidered Byzantine and, in greater quantity, late Byzantine vestments, as evidenced by the photographic archive of G. Millet. In fact, they form the finest collection of vestments inherited from Byzantium. The important question of whether there were local workshops on Athos or whether they were all brought from outside the Holy Mountain will be answered only when systematic research into their dedications and inscriptions has been published.

In the case of the vestments of Simonopetra, the Monastery's codex provides valuable information on their origin and value. Its monks travelled to Wallachia, Philippoupolis, Varna, Prousa, Prikonisos, Smyrna, Belgrade, Constantinople, and, within Greece itself, the Peloponnese, Tyrnavo, Makrynitsa, Crete, Thessaloniki and Zagora. The inventory made on 23 July 1796 *"by order of the Holy and Great Church of Christ"* shows that the sacristy contained a wealth of damasks, gold embroidered satins and silks and velvets *(katife)*. There were 32 *phelonia* (chasubles), most of them of damask, three *sakkoi* (dalmatics), of which one was with gold, 12 *sticharia* (albs) of satin and damask, 12 deacon's stoles, of which four were old, three *omophoria* (pallia), 40 priest's stoles, of which 13 were old and five heavily embroidered

with prophets, 19 pairs of *epimanikia* (liturgical cuffs), three pairs embroidered with figures, 11 *pyles* (sanctuary veils), of which four were embroidered, three with spangles and one heavily embroidered with the Nativity of Christ, 20 *podees* (hangings for icons), of which two were embroidered, four embroidered *epigonatia* (maniples), 12 *aeres* (chalice veils), of which three were embroidered, one embroidered mitre and two *trachilies* (neckbands) embroidered in pure gold (Codex A, pp. 82-86).

As a result of the three great fires which have ravaged Simonopetra (1580, 1622, 1891), the Monastery's treasury today contains only nine old gold embroidered vestments: five priest's stoles, two pairs of epimanikia, four cross-shaped applications for a pallium, three *poloi* from the neck of omophoria, an epigonation and a pyle. It is a strange fact that in a monastery there should be no liturgical vestment and only one item of decorative drapery, the pyle.

The *epitrachelion* (stole) was considered the essential vestment of the priest as early as the beginning of the 6th century. It consists of a strip of material passing round the neck and hanging down on the chest, its two sides being fastened in front with small bells or buttons; in some cases the two sides are not joined. It symbolises the yoke of Christ: *"for my yoke is easy and my burden is light"*, as is sometimes written on other stoles. It can also symbolise the halter with which Christ was dragged, bound, to the cross (Theocharis, 1986, 19-21).

The *epitrachelion of Georgios the Priest* (fig. 127b-132) belongs to the mid 16th century (dimensions: 1,295 x 270). It is a simplified copy of a type of stole whose decoration begins with the Annunciation at its highest point, immediately after the figure of the Great High Priest which adorns the neck (Millet, 1947, 36-37). On other stoles the place of the Annunciation is taken by those who foretold the Incarnation of the Word: Zacharias and St John the Baptist. These are followed by those who day by day in every place bring about the Incarnation in the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist (Trembelas, 1935, *passim*). Here, the embroiderer or the pattern followed has disturbed the links in the cohesion of the iconography by placing the two bishops, instead of the prophets, before the Annunciation. On the neck, in a medallion, Christ as Great High Priest (IC XC) is shown with both hands raised in benediction. This is followed, in a continuous band, by the line of bishops, one on each side, below arches which are supported on spiral columns. In order and in pairs they are as follows: St Basil (Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟC) and St John Chrysostom (Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΗC] Ο ΧΡ[ΥCOCTOMOC]), the Annunciation (ΓΑΒΡΙ[Η]Λ - Ο Ε[ΥΑ]ΓΓΕΛΙCMOC - ΜΡ ΘΥ); St Gregory of Nyssa (Ο ΑΓ[Ι]ΟC ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟC ΝΥCIC) and St Gregory the Theologian (Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟC Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟC); St Spyridon (Ο Α[ΓΙΟC] ΣΠΥΡΙΔΩΝ) and St Nicholas (Ο ΑΓ[Ι]ΟC ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟC); St Athanasius (Ο ΑΓ[Ι]ΟC ΑΘΑΝΑCΙΟC) and St Cyril (Ο ΑΓ[Ι]ΟC ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟC); St Ignatius (Ο ΑΓ[ΙΟC] ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟC) and St Metrophanes (Ο ΑΓ[Ι]ΟC ΜΙΤΡΟΦΑΝΗC).

The saints are shown *en face*, holding the Gospel in the left hand and giving their blessing with the right, but not all in the same manner. The figures in the Annunciation are shown in a three-quarter turn towards the viewer. The Archangel advances towards the Blessed Virgin with big strides and holds his hand out towards her in the familiar gesture of one speaking, while in his left hand he holds, instead of a sceptre, a kind of schematised lily. The Blessed Virgin has just risen from the seat which is visible behind her and holds her hands in an attitude of prayer, indicating her submission to the Divine Will. Her name is written vertically to the left and right of her head, while the remaining space is filled with serpentine lines. The corners are decorated with swastikas.

The compartments are separated by reversed Zs which form braids. The two last parallel compartments are covered with a decorative motif made up of three successive crosses formed by undulating lines which intertwine, by twos, horizontally and vertically, and contain a rosette within them. Between the repeated motifs a schematised double-headed eagle alternates with a cross. Above and below the decoration the following inscription, much abbreviated, appears in calligraphic capitals:

Δ[Ε]ΗC[ΙC] Τ[ΟΥ] Δ[ΟΥ]Λ[ΟΥ] Τ[ΟΥ] Θ[ΕΟΥ] Γ[Ε]ΩΡΓΙΟΥ C[ΥΝ] Τ[Η] ΠΡ[ΕC]Β[Υ]Τ[Ε][ΡΑ]
Κ[ΑΙ] Τ[Ε]ΚΝ[ΩΝ] ΑΥΤΩΝ

Fig. 105 Sanctuary screen with a depiction of the Annunciation. 7th-8th decade of the 14th century (p. 187).

Fig. 106 Icon of Our Lady Hope of the Despairing. Late 15th century (p. 188).

Fig. 107 Icon of Our Lady 'Pantanassa'. 3rd decade of the 16th century. Dedicated by the Metropolitan of Nicaea Athanasios (p. 189).

Fig. 108 Icon of the Nativity of St John the Baptist. Second half of the 15th century (p. 188).

Fig. 109 Icon of the Dormition of the Virgin. Second half of the 15th century (p. 188).

Fig. 110 Icon of All Saints. Second half of the 17th century (p. 189).

Fig. 111 Icon of the Dormition of the Virgin. First third of the 16th century (p. 189).

Fig. 112 Icon of St Catherine. Second half of the 15th century (p. 188).

Fig. 113 Lyperon with St John the Divine. Circa mid 17th century (p. 189).

Fig. 114 Icon of three Saints (one of the figures is missing) (detail). Circa mid 17th century (p. 189).

Fig. 115 Icon of Our Lady 'Pammakaristos'. Early 17th century (p. 189).

Fig. 116 Icon of the Nativity of Christ. Third quarter of the 17th century (p. 189).

Fig. 117 Icon of St John the Divine and his disciple Prochorus. First half of the 17th century (p. 189).

Fig. 118 *Icon in two zones. Above: the Mother of God enthroned between Sts John the Divine and Artemius; below: Sts Antony, Athanasius the Athonite, John of Rila and Paraskeve of Thrace. Late 17th century (p. 190).*

Fig. 119 St Hypatius with the dragon bound. Detail of fig. 120 (p. 190).

Fig. 120 Icon of St Hypatius with scenes from his life. 3rd-4th decade of the 18th century (p. 190).

Fig. 121 Icon of the Dormition of the Virgin. First half of the 18th century.

Fig. 122 Icon of Christ. First half of the 18th century.

Fig. 123 *Icon of St Theophanes, re-founder of the Docheiariou Monastery. Early 18th century (p. 190).*

Fig. 124 *Icon of St Mary Magdalene and St Simon as patrons of Simonopetra. Circa 1730 (p. 190).*

Fig. 125 Icon of Christ 'Glykys'. Work of Nikandros. Mid 17th century (p. 189).

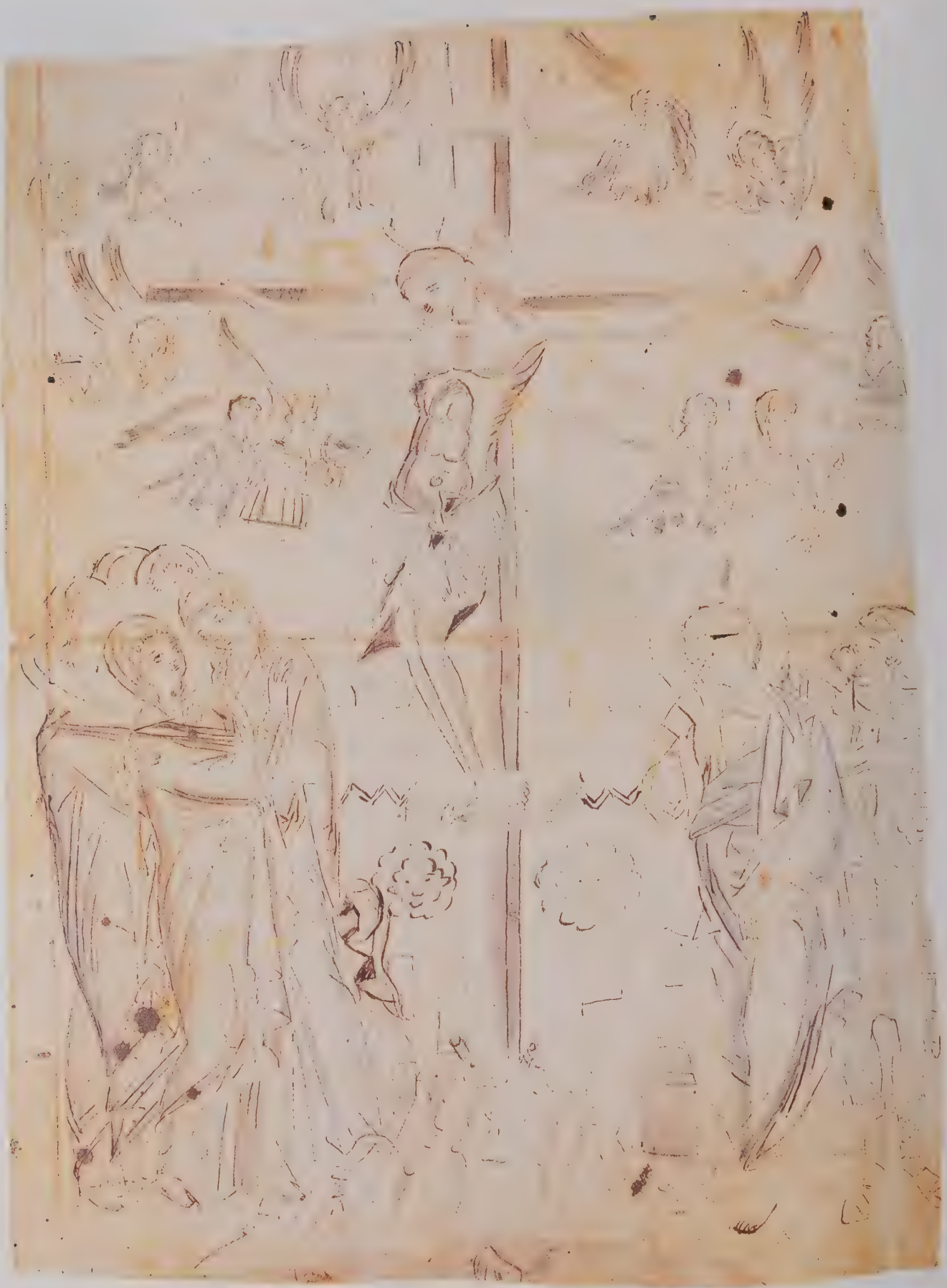

Fig. 126 Tracing of the Crucifixion. Late 17th century (p. 190).

Μ[ΝΗ]CΘ[Η]Τ[Ι] Κ[ΥΡΙ]Ε Τ[ΩΝ] Ψ[Υ]Χ[ΩΝ] Τ[ΩΝ] Δ[ΟΥ]Λ[ΩΝ] C[ΟΥ] Μ[ΑΓΔΑΛΗ]ΝΗC Θ[ΕΟ]Δ[Ω]Ρ[ΟΥ] Κ[ΑΙ] ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΟΥ].

The offering of the servant of God Georgios with his wife and their children.

Be mindful, O Lord, of the souls of Thy servants Magdalene, Theodoros and Ioannis.

The company of the saints relates to the order which is observed in the Offertory at the taking of the third portion of the bread. They are identical with the figures who flank the celebrant in the bottom zone around the walls of the sanctuary. One of them is particularly worthy of note: St Metrophanes, who is not shown on other stoles and very rarely in the murals of churches. He was, according to the *Paschalion Chronikon,* the first Bishop of Constantinople, an office which he held for ten years. Eusebius calls him *"of the Queen of Cities the first in honour"*. It is believed that it was in his time that Constantinople was built (Gedeon, 1890, 104-108, and Scheidweiler, 74-98).

His presence here points us towards a workshop in the capital, though an origin on the Holy Mountain itself, a dependency of the Great Church of Christ, is not impossible. The technique of the embroidery also suggests Constantinople in the Palaeologue period. This is on a background of red satin with gold thread as the main material, producing sharp contrasts with the red. The outline of the vestments of the saints, the circles of their haloes and the whole of their pallia are brought out with silver thread. Straw-coloured silk with red brush-strokes is used to depict the faces, while brown is used for the hair and red for the folds. The *kavaliki* is the predominant stitch used. The figures are distantly reminiscent of the spareness of those in Byzantine gold embroidery. The form of decoration on the hem can also be found on epitrachelion No. 3, with three-figure medallions, in the Stavroniketa Monastery (Theocharis, 1974, pp. 149-151), that of Dimitrios Rarianos in the Dionysiou Monastery, in the Great Laura, No. 1, of Ioakeim, Synkellos of the Great Church, and of No. 690 in the Athens Byzantine Museum; the decoration of the compartments is a copy of that of the stoles of the Philotheou Monastery, of the nun Evgenia, in Chilandari No. 1, (Millet, 1939, figs XXIV, XXVI) and in Govora, of Radu the Great (Millet, 1939, figs LII, LIII). The double-headed eagle on the border is also derived from Byzantium (Millet, 1947, 13, 26-28). Millet has placed this vestment in a series of epitrachelia, to be found chiefly on Mt Athos, but also to be met with in Romania and Serbia, and he dates it, following an inscription on the Rila vestment, to the mid 16th century.

Bibliography: G. Millet, *Broderies...,* pp. 36, 40, figs LXXX, 1.

The *epitrachelion with swastikas* (figs 127c, 133-134) belongs to the mid 16th century (dimensions: 1,300 x 250). On its band, Christ as the Great High Priest is shown at the neck, with the identifying inscription IC XC, followed immediately by the Annunciation, under arches, with the Archangel ([Α]Γ[ΓΕΛΟC]) arriving with rapid step as the messenger of the divine command. The Blessed Virgin (MP ΘY), stands in front of the stool on which she has been standing, with her right hand raised in prayer and her left holding the distaff. Next come the prophets John the Baptist (ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΗC] Ο ΠΡΟΔ[ΡΟΜΟC]) and Zacharias (Ο ΠΡΟΦΙ[ΤΗC] ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑC), as required by the iconographic cycle. These are followed by the Apostles Peter (Ο Α[ΓΙΟC] Π[ΕΤΡ]ΟC) and Paul (Α[ΓΙ]ΟC Π[ΑΥ]ΛΟC) and the bishops St Basil (Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟC), St John Chrysostom (Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΗC] Ο ΧΡΥ[CΟCΤΟ]ΜΟC), St Gregory the Theologian (Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟC Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟC) and St Athanasius (Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΑΘΑΝΑCΙΟC).

The first two figures are shown under triple pointed arches, the others under rounded arches. The spaces outside the curve of the arches are decorated with schematised lily flowers and those below the arches with zig-zags, forming branches or rhombuses. The figures are shown *en face,* except in the case of the Annunciation and the chief Apostles, Peter and Paul, where they are facing one another.

On this stole, the artist has forgotten the reason for the depiction of the prophets and has altered their place, as on the epitrachelion of the priest Georgios. The bishops and St Paul hold the Gospel; the keys are absent from the hands of St Peter. The bishops wear *phelonia* (chasubles), but only that of St John Chrysostom is *polystaurion*(with a multiplicity of crosses).

The end compartments of the vestment, smaller than the rest, are decorated with an abacus

pattern, in which a swastika and an anthemion alternate in each square. Three tassels hang from the hem.

The vestment is embroidered on red silk material with gold thread, producing irridescence on the red. A variety of stitches has been employed: the *vereriki* and the *kavaliki* predominate. The folds and details of the garments are indicated by a change of stitch and are emphasised by very fine coloured silk in pink, azure, dark blue and green. The faces are rendered in straw-coloured silk and the hair and beards in dark brown. In the case of some of the figures, red silk has been added to the face and hair, giving a lively colour to the saints' expressions. On the basis of the Rila vestment, this stole is dated by Millet to the mid 16th century.

Bibliography: G. Millet, *Broderies...*, pp. 36, 40, figs LXXX, 5.

The *epitrachelion with tulips* (figs 127a, 135-137) belongs to the early 17th century (dimensions: 1,280 x 130). It consists of a single band of red satin, which is completely hidden by the gold embroidery; it ends in five tassels. Christ is shown in bust form in a medallion on the neck area. As Great High Priest, He gives His blessing with both hands. A fine line in azure silk material separates Him from the two figures who follow. The same material is used to separate the rest of the six compartments, in which the Apostles are shown full-length in a three-quarter turn, with flowing garments in various colours. As is usually the case *"the figures of the Fathers and the bishops are rendered full-face, while those of the prophets and Apostles have the energy and movement of those inspired by their mission and predestination"* (Theocharis, 1957, 36, Johnstone, 1967, 30).

Beginning from the highest compartment, the saints are arranged as follows: Sts Peter and Paul (Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΠΕΤΡΟC - Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΠΑΥΛΟC), Matthew and Mark (Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΜΑ[Τ]ΘΑΙΟC - Ο ΑΓ[Ι]ΟC ΜΑΡΚΟC), Luke and John (Ο ΑΓ[Ι]ΟC ΛΟΥΚΑC - Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΗC] Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟC), Simon and Andrew (Ο ΑΓ[Ι]ΟC ΣΙΜΩΝ - Ο ΑΓ[Ι]ΟC ΑΝΔΡΕ[ΑC]), James and Bartholomew (Ο ΑΓ[Ι]ΟC ΙΑΚΩΒΟC - Ο ΑΓ[Ι]ΟC ΒΑΡΘΟΛΟΜΑΙΟC), Thomas and Philip (Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΘΩΜ[ΑC] - Ο ΑΓ[Ι]ΟC ΦΙΛ[Ι]ΠΠΟC).

Here too we see the established iconographic programme of the cycle of the Apostles, linked with the order of the Offertory: at the moment of the offering of the Sacred Elements, the priest breaks off, one by one, pieces from the bread and dedicates them, in this order, in veneration of the Blessed Virgin, the Archangels, the Apostles, the Fathers and the martyrs. It is for this reason that the persons thus commemorated make their appearance on epitrachelia.

The figures are shown under triple arches with coloured columns and bases. The space below the arches and outside them is filled with red flowers, carnations and tulips. The same flowers are repeated in a line on the narrow band of the hem. Millet studied the various stages in the simplification of this form of decoration and ascribed it to Moldavian workshops. The Simonopetra stole can be compared with that of the Varlaam Monastery at Meteora, which dates from c. 1600 (Theocharis, 1957, 21-35), and can be dated to the same period. As to the technique, the fineness of the pattern, the richness of the materials and the care with which it has been worked are impressive. The embroidery which covers the whole of the ground is in gold wire, in *isia spasmeni,* fastened with silk thread; the points at which it is secured form the motif of the base. On the garments the embroiderer has used gold thread mixed with coloured silks: red is predominant, but there is also azure, green and pink. The plasticity of the faces is rendered in straw-coloured silk with a very fine *riza* stitch; the folds are in silk of a colour different from that of the garments. The same coloured silks are used on the columns with their bases and capitals and on the flowers in the gaps and on the hem, thus breaking the monotony of the gold wire. The design to some degree recalls the fineness and grace of the Byzantine models, but inclines somewhat towards folk art.

The *epitrachelion of St Zosimas* (fig. 138b) is of the 17th century (dimensions: 1,280 x 140). A single band of red silk, it shows the *Deesis* with Christ, on the neck, giving His benediction with both hands. Next come the Blessed Virgin and St John the Baptist, the Annunciation in front of the Virgin's house, the Apostles Peter and Paul, holding the Church, St Gregory the Theologian and St John Chrysostom, St Nicholas and St Basil, and, in the last compartment, the Abbot Zosimas giving Communion to St Mary of Egypt.

The compartments are separated by crosses in circles and the saints are shown in profile, except in the fourth and fifth compartments, where they are full-face. All are shown to the waist, except the figures in the Annunciation, who are full-length. The inscriptions giving the identity of the saints depicted in most cases fill the gap to the right of the figure. The stole ends in a hem with schematised floral decoration and three tassels. This is an over-simplified form of epitrachelion, in which the saints are shown in medallions linked by small circles with flattened crosses. Stoles with single or three-figure medallions are to be found in the Monasteries of Stavroniketa, Vatopedi, the Megiste Laura and Bistrița (Millet, figs XII, XIII, XXV, XXXIII, XXXV). Are we to conjecture that the embroiderer had these rich stoles in view and in copying them, simplified the scenes through incompetence?

The presence of the Abbot Zosimas with the chalice in his hand with the spoon in order to give Communion to St Mary of Egypt constitutes a *unicum* in the iconography of those stoles which are known to us. This space is usually occupied by those who dedicated the vestment. It is possible that we have here a dedication of the vestment to some hermit *abba,* who is here likened by the embroiderer to Zosimas, or that the person who dedicated it was a woman, who, having in mind that the memory of St Mary Magdalene is honoured in the Monastery, asked for this scene to be added.

The stitches used are *kavaliki* or *karphoto*. The curves, particularly in the faces and the haloes, point to a Serbian workshop (Stojanović, 1959, cat. no. 41).

The *epitrachelion with the stars* (fig. 138a) is of the 18th century (dimensions: 1,420 x 300). It is embroidered on *katife* velvet and has on the neck a polos (circular material) with Christ enthroned and giving His blessing with His right hand, while He holds the Gospel in His left. This figure is followed by a star and a seraph to the left and right of the polos. The figures of the Annunciation are shown in two other poloi. Next come the Archangels and the other sacred figures: Sts Peter and Paul, Basil and Gregory, John Chrysostom and Cyril, beneath arches with very slim columns. The curve of the columns is decorated with three tulips, except in the last compartments, where the arch is crowned by another, smaller, flowered curve. At the feet of the chief of the Apostles, an undulating line interweaves with tulips. The figures are three-quarter turned; they hold the Gospel in their left hand and give their blessing with the right. The Archangels wear the vestments of a deacon and hold their hands crossed at the breast, as do the figures in the Annunciation. The depiction of the Almighty and of the Blessed Virgin in the *Deesis* comes as a surprise: they are dressed as royalty of some Western court. St John the Baptist wears his sheepskin over his cloak.

The inscriptions giving the identity of the persons depicted, on one of the vertical strips of the vestment, is another peculiarity: they are written backwards, and the abbreviations on the hem are not easily intelligible. The following reconstruction has been proposed:

ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΟΥ] ΕΥΘ[Υ]Μ[ΙΑ]C Θ[ΕΟΤΟΚΕ] ΜΝ[ΗΣΘΗΤΙ]

Δ[Ω]Ρ[Ο]Θ[ΕΟ]C Σ[ΙΜΩΝΟ]Π[Ε]Τ[ΡΙΤΗ]C

Be mindful, O Mother of God, of Ioannis and Efthymia. Dorotheos of Simonopetra.

The stole's three poloi (the Almighty - the Annunciation) seem to be the work of another hand, with totally different embroidery; perhaps they were added later. The floriated curves of the arches and the embroidery in relief on the garments of the Fathers are comparable with the epitrachelia of the old church of Sarajevo and of the Dečani Monastery of the 18th century (Stojanović, 1959, cat. nos. 63 and 68). They were produced in Vienna.

Finally, the account of the epitrachelia of Simonopetra should be completed by the mention of one, dating from 1618, currently in the Museum of Art of Bucharest. It has the inscriptions embroidered in capitals which translate as follows:

On the upper part: *Wrought at the expense of the most venerable among the priest-monks Kyr Ioasaph, 1618, May.*

On the hem: *Possession of the venerable monastery of the name of Simonopetra / by the aid of Ioasaph the priest and the least with the best of desires / labour and toil of the lady Elenouda. In the year 1618 and of the indictio the first.*

This vestment comes from the Mihail-Voda Monastery near Bucharest, which was a metochi of Simonopetra (Elian et al., 1965, 712, No. 1053).

The three poloi in fig. 139a,b,d would seem also to be from epitrachelia; two of them show Christ as Great High Priest, wearing a *phelonion* (chasuble) with a pattern of crosses and a pallium; He gives His benediction with both hands. The first polos (b) belongs to the 16th century and the second (d) to the 17th. The third (a) shows John the Baptist and is of the 17th century. A fourth spoked polos (fig. 139c), embroidered on mustard-coloured satin has Christ as the Great High Priest with mitre and pallium and comes from an epigonation (see Tafrali, 1925, cat. no. 81).

The omophorion (pallium) is the distinguishing vestment of the episcopal office. It takes the shape of a broad band covering the shoulders of the wearer. It is mentioned as early as the 4th century. In spite of the fact that the ecclesiatical sources insist that it should be of wool, all the omophoria known to us are of satin or other white silken material. At the neck they have a piece of circular material —the polos— normally embroidered with the figure of Christ the Great High Priest; the rest of the surface of the band has four large embroidered crosses sewn on to it at intervals *"for the sake of Christ to carry His cross upon the shoulder"*. From the 4th century on, the pallium was regarded as the symbol of the lost sheep which Christ looked for and brought back to the fold upon His shoulders.

The cross-shaped applications here (figs 280-283) have taken the form of a scolloped circle, since bunches of schematised flowers, tied with decorative knots forming hearts, have been added diagonally. The same heart-shaped motif is repeated on the arms of the cross, but in broader form there, in order to cover the surface of the arm. These applications have in the middle an inscribed circle in the form of a polos with the following scenes: the Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the Temple, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Good Shepherd and the Descent into Hell (Resurrection), embroidered to the standard of masterpieces of workmanship, but suffering in places from unskilful restoration. Each scene is divided into three horizontal bands, with a view to suggesting perspective. In the Presentation of the Virgin, in the foreground, the Blessed Virgin, holding the hand of St Anne, is received by the priest Zacharias, *"and young maidens rejoicing and bearing tapers carry into the Holy of Holies the candle intelligible to the mind"*. In the upper band there is a canopied throne where the Blessed Virgin is receiving food from an angel. In the Presentation of Christ, Simeon is shown holding the Infant Christ under a canopy. The Blessed Virgin, from the other side of the altar, stretches out her hand; behind her stand the prophetess Anna and Joseph with the pair of turtledoves in his hands. In the depiction of the Resurrection, Christ in a mandorla stands upon the gates of Hades with Satan beneath them and gives His hand to the resurrected Adam. In His left hand He holds the Cross of redemption as a banner. On His left Eve is kneeling. There are other figures behind Adam and Eve, and a seraph hovers above the mandorla of Christ. Of the scenes depicted here, the only one which relates to the prayer uttered by the deacon when this vestment is donned by the bishop is the Good Shepherd: *"On Thy shoulders, O Christ, taking up lost nature, Thou borest it to God the Father"*.

These applications are embroidered in silk of a sepia shade with silver thread which is either pure or mixed with azure, red or green silk. The embroiderer has used white, brown and black silk for the faces, the outlines, the folds and the hair. The large surfaces in the ground are in brown silk with the *riza* stitch.

The applications of Simonopetra form the model for a series of others belonging to the 17th century and to be found in the monasteries of Mt Athos and in the Ecumenical Patriarchate (Theocharis, 1974, 175-176). They would appear to be a folk imitation of their model. It is not possible to say from the examples known to us up to the present whether they come from an Asia Minor or a Western workshop.

Epimanikia are long cuffs which the sacred ministers wear on the lower part of the sleeves of the *sticharion* (alb). Up to the 12th century they were, like the epigonatia, an exclusively episcopal form of vestment. By the 15th century, they are mentioned as being among the

vestments of the priest, and after the Fall of Constantinople their use was extended to deacons. They symbolise the bonds of the Saviour when He was led before Caiaphas, a scene which is encountered on monastic *epimanikia*. Though the scenes which appear on them often correspond to their symbolism, they are also in many cases totally irrelevant to it.

The *pair of epimanikia with the Fathers* (figs 141, 143) are of the 16th century.

Of these, St Basil (ΑΓΙΟC ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟC) is depicted on one and St John Chrysostom (ΑΓΙΟC ΙΩΑΝΝΗC Ο ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟC) on the other. The saints are shown in a three-quarters turn under arches which are in the middle of the cuffs and are supported on capitals with the heads of wild beasts. The two saints hold the Gospel in their left hand and give their blessing with the right. Around the arches, the red ground of silk material is decorated with a spiral flowering shoot, which spreads out into five tendrils which are fitted to the shape of the trapezium. Initially, the cuffs would appear to have had a decorative border of braids, traces of which can now just be made out, which was perhaps taken off by a later owner in order to remove the name of a former. The inscription below St John Chrysostom reads [M]ΑΝΟΥΗΛ Κ[ΑΙ] ΜΑΡΥΑC *(Of Manouil and Maria),* while that below the figure of St John Chrysostom is [ΜΙ]ΧΑΗΛ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΑC *(Of Michael and Antonina).* The whole of the embroidery is worked in silver thread, which is combined in the faces and garments with coloured silks, the predominant colour being mauve. The rendering of the face of St Basil is very delicate work in straw-coloured silk in the case of the hair and beard and light pink for the face. The embroidery of the face of St John Chrysostom appears to be of a later date, particularly the eyes, which are emphasised with black thread. The effect of the folds in the vestments of the two saints is achieved by a change in stitch. These epimanikia can be related to those of 'Bishop Dorotheos' of the Stavroniketa Monastery, of which they would appear to be less carefully executed copies. *Riza* and *isia spasmeni* are the stitches employed here. The vertical lines of the folds, which contrast with the curves of the floral decoration, produce, as they do in the Stavroniketa epimanikia, a sense of peace and grace. The floral decoration of the Stavroniketa cuffs is here copied in a simplified form (Millet, 1939, figs CXVIII, CXIX; Theocharis, 1974, fig. 81).

The *pair of epimanikia with the Nativity and Baptism* (figs 140, 142) belongs to the second half of the 18th century and come from a Constantinople workshop.

The iconographic subject on both cuffs occupies a minimal amount of space in the centre, while the whole of the rest of the surface is filled with floral decoration. Twin flowers cover the top and bottom of each cuff, their shoots seeming to form a kind of double-headed eagle. At the sides the flowers are in spirals. The Nativity is depicted in the Western style, with Joseph and Mary bending over the crib of the Holy Child.

The chief figure in the Baptism is John, while on the other side Christ is flanked by an angel; the scene is completed by the Holy Spirit in the form of a cross on high.

Bullion *(tir-tir),* decorated in the depictions of the scenes with seed pearls, predominates in the embroidery. A narrow band, this too with floral decoration, serves as a frame. The technique employed is typical of the workshops of Constantinople in the second half of the 18th century. The floral decoration, which *"under the influence of Muslim art on miniature work overwhelms the composition"* (Vei-Hadjidaki, 1953, p. 23), occupies the space in such a way that the scenes depicted play a secondary role. The lavish use of tir-tir and of precious stones are basic features of the period for the workshops of the city of Constantinople. The technique employed in these epimanikia is comparable to that of the Patmos epimanikia and of others of the same period in the Metropolis of Hydra, in the Patriarchal Treasury and elsewhere (Theocharis, 1963, figs 7, 13, 15, 16).

The *pyle* is the curtain which covers the opening above the low doorway of the central opening in the sanctuary screen, hence its name (pyle = gate). This curtain can be traced back to early Christian times and is reminiscent of the veil which hid the Holy of Holies of the Jews. Today it is usual for it to have on it the figure of Christ as the Great High Priest or of Christ standing and giving His blessing by means of the Chalice. In monasteries it is customary for it to have a depiction of the patron saint (St Nicholas at Stavroniketa), or of an event

from the New Testament to which the particular monastery is dedicated, as here and in other Athonite monasteries (the Company of the Angels at Docheiariou), and for it to be used only on the patronal feast of the *katholikon* of the monastery.

The *pyle with the Nativity of Christ* dates from 1627 (fig. 144) (dimensions: 1,070 x 940).

Embroidered on red satin, the pyle traces symbolically, both in its upper part with the archway and below with the *poterion,* the opening above the wooden sanctuary doorway which it is intended to cover; through the gateway only the scene of the Nativity, to which the Monastery is dedicated, will show. The sanctuary is the starry sky which appears on the material of the pyle. On the red ground, the mustard-coloured embroidery shows a rocky landscape of triangular shape, representing the earth, with the various episodes of the Nativity.

The central figure, the Blessed Virgin, is lying on a mattress, her position suggestive of the pangs of childbirth which she has just experienced. She looks with affection towards the Infant, who is lying in swaddling bands in an ark-shaped crib, while the two animals, the ox and the ass, bending over it, warm Him with their breath; here the prophecy of Isaiah is being fulfilled: *"The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider"*. To the left of the Blessed Virgin, behind the rocks, in a starry sky, the angel brings the joyful news to the shepherds (who are here represented by only one of their number and his flock), while on her right, from the edge of the rocks, the three Magi approach on galloping horses. The picture illustrates the *kontakion* (hymn for the day): *"Today the Virgin bears Him who is above being and the earth brings the cave near to the unapproachable. Angels with shepherds glorify God, and Magi journey, led by a star. For unto us a child is born, God existing before all ages"*. This kontakion is indeed embroidered on the arch which corresponds to that of the sanctuary screen. The inscription ends with the date: "ETOYC X[PIΣTO]Y AXKZ : *In the year of Christ 1627"*. On the front there is further scene, not referred to in the kontakion but taken from the apocryphal gospels and the hymns for the feast: in the left angle of the triangle which represents the earth, Joseph sits, deep in thought, his hand to his cheek. In front of him, leaning on his stick, stands the Devil, in the guise of a shepherd, trying to tempt him to doubt. Joseph is placed at this distance from the scene of the Nativity to show that he is not the father of the Child, in contrast with the presentation on the epimanikion (fig. 140) and with the scene in Western iconography, which shows him together with the Blessed Virgin kneeling before the crib of the new-born Child and is entitled, indeed, 'The Holy Family'. The scene as we have it here is based on tradition and conveys the meaning of certain liturgical texts (First and Ninth Hour). *"In the person of Joseph, the icon reveals to us"*, Ouspensky writes, *"not only his own personal drama, but a drama of mankind - that of the meeting of two understandings of the world: the one limited to the level of logical existence cannot agree with what goes beyond reason; the other, based on an intuition of the beyond, comes into contact with that through revelation"* (Ouspensky, 1951). Perhaps this was what the artist, through the work of the embroiderer, was trying to tell us by the use of the words of the Dismissal Hymn of Christmas, embroidered in fine calligraphic letters on the horizontal band which cuts across the dome and which themselves form part of the decoration: *"Thy birth, O Christ our God, has risen upon the world as the light of knowledge"*. Above this inscription is shown a part of the heavens from which the star which guides the Magi descends. Flanking the star are the two figures from the Annunciation. The name of the embroiderer is given below the poterion of the pyle: "ΘΕΟΥ ΤΟ ΔΟΡΟΝ Κ[ΑΙ] Κ[ΑΛ]ΛΙΝ[Ι]ΚΟΥ ΠΟΝΟC: *The gift of God and the toil of Kallinikos"*.

The embroiderer, or his pattern, has retained the Byzantine iconography, but has adjusted it to the requirements of his times. The only colours which he uses are mustard and azure, the latter for the part of the heavens which can be seen, for the figures of the Annunciation, for the mattress of the Virgin and the crib of the Holy Child, for the horses of the Magi and for certain details of the garments of the other figures. The faces are rendered in straw-coloured silk and the hair in brown and black. The figures are also outlined in black. Perspective is followed, and in order to lend extra weight to the portrayal of the Virgin the position which she occupies has been chosen, rather than the scale or a form emphasised by richer colouring,

as was usual in Byzantine art. Only one stitch is used; this takes different forms, depending on the direction given to the gold thread.

The signature of the monk Kallinikos, an embroiderer who lived in the early 17th century, also appears on an *epitaphios* belonging to the Docheiariou Monastery and a pyle of Koutloumousiou (Theocharis, 1963, pp. 498-499). The Docheiariou epitaphios is painted and embroidered in strictly Byzantine style. It has the length of the inscription in common with the Simonopetra pyle. The Koutloumousiou pyle, which, however, was restored in 1872, also has features in common with that of Simonopetra. It bears the inscription: *"Of Kallinikos the monk from Tyrnavo"*, which is some indication of an Athonite workshop. The embroidery of Simonopetra is today used as a *podea*. Its original use was, however, as a pyle, to which the Simonopetra Codex (p. 85) refers: *"A Gate Beautiful, the Nativity of Christ, heavy"*.

We must also mention here a pyle which has a depiction of the exterior of the Monastery from the south western side (fig. 12). It shows six polygonal storeys and a fortress-like base with a few small windows or arrow-slits. There are balconies and windows on the other floors and central glassed area with a double dome surmounted by a cross overhangs. Another dome crowns the extreme right of the Monastery. Behind are three lofty domes with crosses. This work is embroidered on satin, the basic colours being yellow and pink.

On a photograph of the embroidery, in the possession of the Monastery and signed by Ali Sami Bey, chief photographer to the Sultan Hamid, there is a note by the Abbot Ieronymos: *"Holy Monastery of Simonopetra / on the Holy Mountain / work / on satin in silk by Dorothea M. Tsardaka / from Krini in the year 1907"*. Krini is the present-day Cesme in Asia Minor, famed for Orlov's naval battle. This embroidery yields the interesting information that in the early 20th century the embroiderers of Asia Minor had adopted the methods of the West. Here the embroideress seems to have been copying an engraving of Simonopetra of the year 1868 (Papastratos, 1968, No. 499). There are also similar embroideries, inspired by engravings, in other great monasteries, such as that of Mt Sinai, which seem to have been gifts from wealthy merchants of the diaspora.

Paper Icons

Priest-monk Ioustinos

The production of engravings[1] dates from the time of the invention of printing (mid 15th century): it was initially with woodcuts and later with copper engravings and lithographs that the books printed were decorated. At the same time, more or less, works of a larger size and a religious content began to be printed on sheets of paper or pieces of material, serving as a kind of icon. It is these that the sources contemporary with them term "paper icons" [2]. The great monastic foundations of the Orthodox East used this new kind of icon as a means of making themselves known. Their frequent dealings with 'the world' were assisted by the distribution of a print of the monastery or an icon of its patron saint as a 'blessing'.

Approximately one third of Greek engravings show the buildings of monasteries or large shrines. These depictions are accompanied by others which have as their subject the monasteries' miracle-working icons and traditions or stories relating to them. By adding text to the pictures, an attempt was made to provide the faithful with elementary information about the foundation which had produced the work[3]. At the same time, other engravings with religious subjects (miraculous icons, saints, scenes) had for the faithful a place in worship. Even those who lacked this world's goods could acquire these for the family icon shrine, since, being mass-produced, they were within the financial range of everyone.

The oldest engravings in the Greek Orthodox world are woodcuts found in the Sinai Monastery (1665-1706). From the beginning of the 18th century onwards, copper was the medium favoured. The subjects to be engraved in this fashion were ordered through the major

centres for the printing of Greek books (Venice, Vienna, Moscow). The illustration and texts were chosen by the monasteries themselves, but the engraving was undertaken by experienced foreign experts, and it is for this reason that Western elements can be seen to predominate in the chiaroscuro, the decoration and the iconography. The inscriptions on these relating to their ownership constitute valuable historical sources for the study of the Greeks of the diaspora, who frequently financed their production, and the cultural relations between the Orthodox peoples of the Balkans[4].

In the last quarter of the 18th century, though orders from foreign printing centres continued to be placed, religious depictions engraved and printed on Athos began to make their appearance: ten Athonite engravings date from before 1800. Eight of these were engraved by the Athonite priest-monk Parthenios of Elasson in the years 1779-1782, and one by the painter Nikiforos in 1798, while the remaining one, dating from 1790, is by an unknown engraver. There is a significant increase in the number of works of Athonite engraving which we have from the first 20 years of the 19th century —at least 40. After a ten-year interruption (1821-1830), the workshops of Athos again flourished, reaching their zenith in the middle of the century with a large number of printings and a wide variety of subject matter. It is in the works of this period that the Athonite style, the first examples of which had made their appearance at the end of the 18th century, took its form[5]. The engraving of the background of the icon is not carefully executed, the amount of chiaroscuro is limited and rococo decoration is absent; the religious scenes resemble those of popular late Byzantine icons. The views of the monasteries, even when inspired by older foreign models, are rendered in naive perspective and embellished in their detail with features from folk art[6].

The subjects which are depicted in the Athonite copper engravings are the Blessed Virgin, in various types, scenes from the Passion (Crucifixion, Resurrection), the Second Coming, the Holy Trinity with attendant saints, Sts Constantine and Helen, St George, St Demetrius, St Nicholas, St Spyridon and others and views of the 20 Athonite and other monasteries. A considerable number of engravings with depictions of the whole of Athos in two views, eastern and western, on the same single sheet have also come down to us (fig. 5).

The products of the Mt Athos workshops supplied the needs of the Greek populations of Greece itself, Asia Minor and the Middle East, and of the Orthodox peoples of the Balkans. For this reason, the inscriptions which accompany the depictions are either in Greek, bilingual (Greek and Slavonic) or just in Slavonic[7]. A large number of the engravings were ordered principally by the monasteries and *sketes*. We know the names and the periods of activity of two engravers of the 18th century and 20 of the 19th: of these, 16 were monks. Among them were Thomas Sideris, who was also a goldsmith, the priest-monk Anthimos Peloponnisios, the monks Cyril and Daniel and Ioannis Kaldis from Mytilene. Between 1831 and 1893, more than 270 of these works were printed. Research in the modern archives of Mt Athos and a study of the icons themselves will bring this number higher and will add to our knowledge of the role of the engravings in the religious and artistic life of the Holy Mountain. The time and place of operation of the Athonite workshops, the origin of the equipment and printing materials remain the main issues. The monastic registers, the concessions of cells and the inventories of transactions will bring to light new information in addition about the individuals who were involved in producing and marketing the engravings[8].

Karyes was the centre for those workshops which had been set up in the *kellia* of various monasteries. The printers who kept shops also sold *"sheets of paper in large and small [size] for presses of the monastery"*. They printed copper engravings from their own plates or those of the monasteries, which they kept themselves, in order to carry out new orders which they received. There are indications that they not only dealt in engravings but also engaged in trade generally. The role played by tradition in the life of Athos and in the length of time that specific premises are used for a particular purpose allow us to suppose that the workshops which were functioning in the 20th century traced their establishment back to an earlier period[9].

Interest in Athonite engravings was shown by the Frenchman M. Didron (1839), the German Heinrich Brockhaus (1891), who pointed out their importance for the history of art, Manouil Gedeon (1885, 1916), Andreas Xyngopoulos (1957), Pavlos Mylonas (1963), Kitsos Makris

Fig. 127
Epitrachelia: a. with tulips. Early 17th century. (p. 214). b. of Georgios the Priest. Mid 16th century (p. 192). c. with swastikas. Mid 16th century (p. 213). ←

Fig. 128
Details of the yoke of epitrachelia 127 b and 127 a (pp. 192, 214).

Fig. 129
Details of epitrachelion 127 b: The Annunciation and bishops (p. 192). →

Figs 130, 131
Details of epitrachelion 127b: bishops (p. 192). →

Fig. 132
Hem of epitrachelion 127b: double-headed eagles and inscription (p. 192). →

Fig. 133
Detail of epitrachelion 127c: The Annunciation, St John the Baptist and the prophet Zacharias (p. 213).

Fig. 134
Detail of epitrachelion 127c: two apostles and two bishops (p. 213).
→

а

б

Fig. 139 Poloi: a. with St John the Baptist bound and b., c., d. with Christ as the Great High Priest (p. 216).

Figs 135, 136 Details of epitrachelion 127a: apostles (p. 214).
←

Fig. 137 Epitrachelion 127a: St Matthew (p. 214).

Fig. 138 Epitrachelia: a. with the stars (p. 215). b. of St Zosimas (p. 214).
←

Figs 140, 142
Epimanikia: the Nativity of Christ and the Baptism (p. 217).

Figs 141, 143
Epimanikia. St John Chrysostom and St Basil (p. 217).

Fig. 144 *Pyle with the Nativity of Christ and individual scenes from it (arrival of the Magi, the news brought to the shepherds, the temptation of Joseph). Work of the monk Kallinikos. 1627 (p. 218).*

(1976) and Dinko Davidov (1971, 1978, 1990). Specialised issues have been dealt with by Miltos Garidis and Athanasios Paliouras (1980, 1982), the priest-monk Ioustinos Simonopetritis (1982), Sotiris Kissas (1983, 1986) and Dory Papastratos (1984, 1987)[10]. Papastratos' two-volume work was a milestone in the study of Greek engravings; this collection of modern Greek engraving was the first systematic presentation of these works and the *vade mecum* for all subsequent research.

From an early date the engravers sought to depict in a single picture and with relative geographical accuracy the twenty monasteries lying on both sides of the Holy Mountain[11]. Pierre Belon du Mans (1553) depicted the western side of Athos, as from above, in the form of a relief map, noting on it some of the monasteries, but not Simonopetra. In two Serbian woodcuts (end of the 17th or early 18th century), an attempt has been made to include in each a small part of the Athos landscape by showing three or four monasteries. Depicted in one of these is Simonopetra, with many storeys and multi-domed, Gregoriou, and Dionysiou, with a sailing-ship in the foreground (fig. 6).

In the year 1698, the doctor and philosopher Ioannis Komninos visited the Holy Mountain and in 1701, on the press of the Synagovou Monastery in Wallachia, produced the first *Proskynitarion* of the Holy Mountain. This is accompanied by a two-page copper engraving showing the two sides of the Athos promontory. This fairly simplistic and schematic composition has been carefully engraved and the monasteries are placed in more or less their correct position. The name of the engraver is not known to us. In his introduction, Komninos writes: *"this hand-wrought depiction of the Holy Mountain with the monasteries on it, those on its east and those on its west, engraved at our expense and printed in the form in which it can be seen, greatly delights our eyes and brings not a little joy as it presents itself to the contemplation". "Simopetra"* is placed on the top of a hill; it is shown with its aqueduct, the tower of the *arsanas* and the building where the boat is stored, and the path which leads up to the Monastery. A small boat sails in front of the arsanas. In the re-print of the *Proskynitarion* by Montfaucon (*Palaeographia Graeca*, Paris 1708), the two sides were printed on the same page, one above the other (fig. 3). These copy with relative accuracy the originals of the 1701 edition and have the inscriptions in Latin.

It is not known at what date and by which engraver the two sides were for the first time combined in a single depiction (the western side on the left and the eastern side on the right), with the two summits joined in the middle. This composition, reminiscent of the representation of Mt Sinai with its three summits, shows the Mountain with two peaks, while what we really have is the two sides of its single peak. The oldest known engraving of this category was produced in Venice at the beginning of the 18th century by Alessandro della Via. This model also seems to have been the inspiration of the anonymous craftsman who in 1713 produced a closely related copper engraving, most probably paid for by the Vatopedi Monastery, as yet unpublished. The work engraved by the German J.G.Schmidt for the book of Theoklitos Polyeidis (New Brandenburg 1736) is along the same lines. All three engravers depicted the fortress structure of Simonopetra and its arsanas, as they did those of the other monasteries, from the imagination. The Western atmosphere of these compositions is particularly marked in the maritime area. Later variations on the views of Athos, printed in Vienna (1767, 1769), Moscow (1768), Venice (1800) and Athos (first quarter of the 19th century, 1859, 1866, 1867 and 1880) seem to have been modelled on these three compositions. In spite of the iconographic development of the subject, the representation of Simonopetra, its arsanas and the surrounding area do not revert at all to the original of the *Proskynitarion*.

All the Athonite monasteries and sketes produced, in order to give as mementoes to pilgrims, prints which combined a depiction of the monastery or the skete with smaller depictions of saints and scenes of miracles, connected with their history. The purpose of these paper icons was to inform the faithful of the traditions linked with the foundation of the monastery or skete and its subsequent history.

Three Athonite copper engravings showing Simonopetra have come down to us[12]: two smaller ones, of the years 1836 and 1870, and a larger one of the year 1868. In the first two, depicted

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Figs 145-150 *The great seal of Simonopetra showing the Nativity of Christ (p. 75, 247). Impressions on documents of: 1593 (fig. 145); 1617 (fig. 146); 1801 (fig. 147); 1819 (fig. 148); 1820 (fig. 149); 1852, still in use today (fig. 150).*

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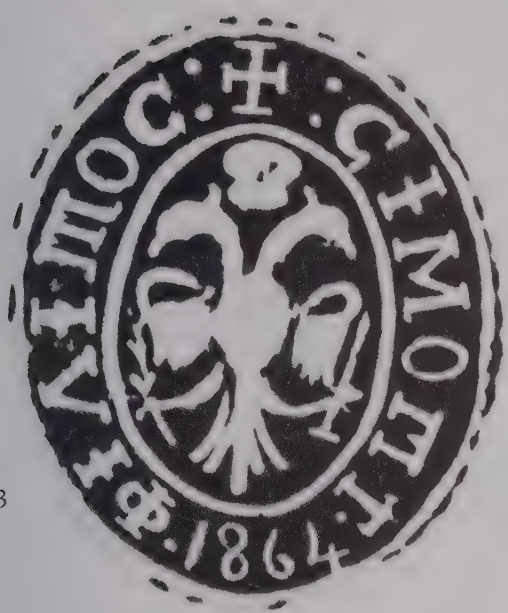

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Figs 151-156 *Seals with a representation of the Monastery (pp. 75, 247). Small elliptical seal, 1848 (fig. 151); small elliptical seal, 1852 (fig. 152); personal seal of the Elder Filippos Simonopetritis, 1864 (fig. 153); small round seal, 1916 (fig. 154); seals with Russian inscription, late 19th century (figs 155, 156).*

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Fig. 157 *The great seal of Simonopetra, showing St Simon. 1787 (pp. 75, 247).*

Fig. 158 *The seal of the Mihail-Voda metochi, Bucharest. 1800 (p. 247).*

Fig. 159 *The personal seal of Abbot Amvrosios (1831-1848) (p. 247).*

Fig. 160 *Depiction of St Simon, from a circular soliciting alms, dated 1847, which also served as a seal (p. 247).*

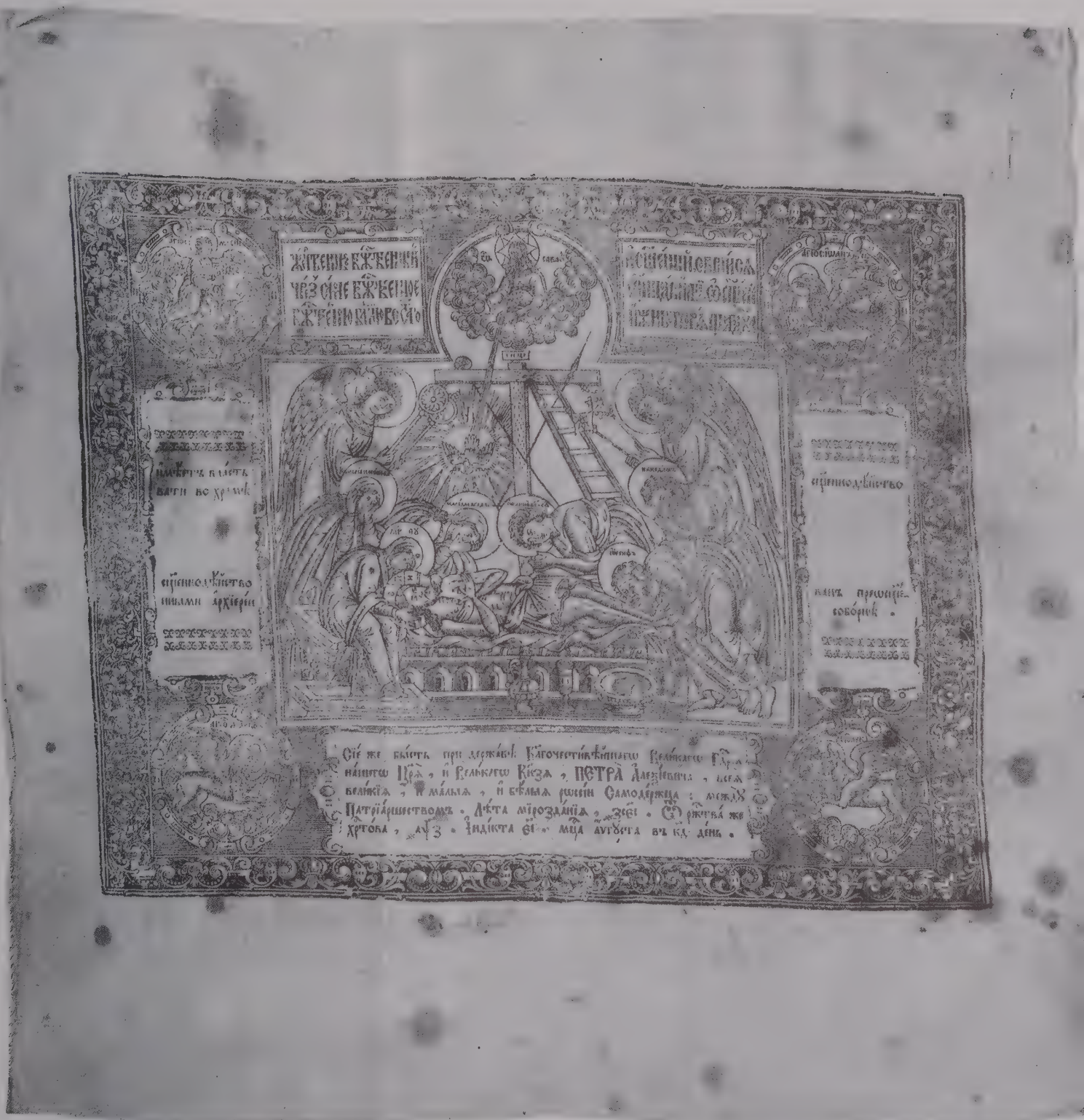

Fig. 161 Antimension. Russia. 1707 (485 x 485) (p. 249).

Fig. 162 Antimension. Engraver: Parthenios of Elasson. Athos. 1780 (585 x 725) (p. 249).

Fig. 163 Antimension. Engraver: Ioannis Kornaros of Crete. Nicosia. 1802/1847 (536 x 587) (p. 249).

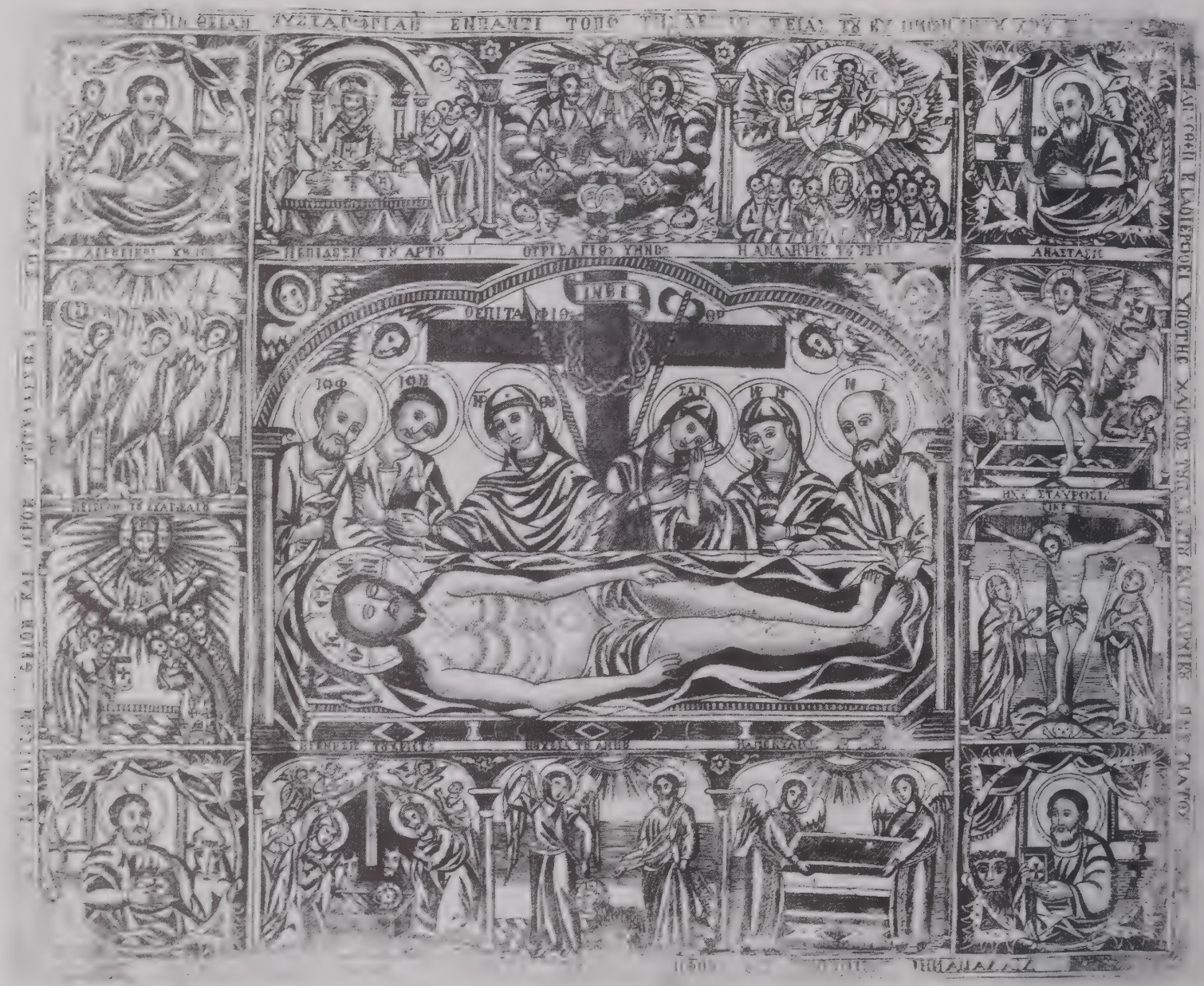

Fig. 164 Antimension. Engraver: Ioannis Mytilinaios. Athos. 1878 (488 x 595) (p. 250).

above the Monastery are the Birth of Christ, St Simon 'Myrovlytis', founder of the Monastery, and St Mary Magdalene. It was to the Birth of Christ that the *katholikon* of the Monastery built by the Saint was dedicated; St Mary Magdalene is honoured particularly because the Monastery possesses her left hand. In the third print, small icons with scenes from the life of the founder occupy three of the margins surrounding the central depiction of Simonopetra; the upper portion again shows the Birth of Christ, the founder and St Mary Magdalene.

The copper engraving of 1836 (370 x 275) (fig. 2) has the following dedicatory inscription: ΑΥΤΗ Η ΙΕΡΑ ΜΟΝΗ ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙ ΤΟΥ CΙΜΩΝΟC ΠΕΤΡΑC ΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΗ ΤΙΜΩΜΕΝΗ ΕΠ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙCΤΟΥ ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΩΝ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΙ // ΕΝ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ ΟΡΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΘΩ ΕΧΑΡΑΧΘΗ ΔΕ ΔΑΠΑΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΤΡΟΠΗ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΟCΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΘΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΗC ΑΥΤΗC ΜΟΝΗC ΚΥΡΙΟΥ // ΑΜΒΡΟCΙΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΗ CΚΗΤΗ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΡΕΩΝ · ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ + ΑΩΛΣΤ +.

This holy monastery is named Simonopetra, honoured in the name of the Birth of Christ, lying on the Holy Mountain of Athos. It was engraved at the expense and on the instructions of the Most Venerable Holy Abbot of the Monastery, Kyr Amvrosios, in the skete of Karyes. 1836.

The imposing seven-storey Monastery, a stone fortress which spreads out on the upper two floors with its balconies (SE side), stands high on top of a schematic rock; the domes of the katholikon protrude from the roofs of the cells and other buildings. Sailing ships and boats are shown at sea, while the arsanas is by the seashore, the *kathisma* of St John the Divine on the left, and the vineyard higher up. The pathway up to the Monastery passes in front of the cemetery, the fountain and the *vordonario*, under the arches of the aqueduct, in front of the mill and the cave and kathisma of St Simon, to reach the vineyard and, higher up, the mountain of the Monastery, St Demetrius.

The dedicatory inscription of the 1870 copper engraving (430 x 323) (fig. 9) reads as follows: Η ΠΑΡΟΥCΑ ΕΙΚΩΝ ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΟΒΙΟΥ ΜΟΝΗ ΤΟΥ CΙΜΩΝΟC ΠΕΤΡΑC ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ ΟΡΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΘΩ // ΕΧΑΡΑΧΘΗ ΔΕ ΔΙΑ ΕΞΩΔΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΤΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΚΑΛΛΔΗ ΜΗΤΗΛΙΝΕΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΧΟΡΙΟΝ ΠΛΩ//ΜΑΡΗ ΕΙC ΜΝΗΜΟCΥΝΟΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ + ΧΕΙ[Ρ] ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ. 1870 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 27.

The present icon is of the coenobitic Monastery of Simonopetra on the Holy Mountain of Athos. It was engraved at the expense of the late lamented Kyr Konstantinos Kaldis of Mytilene, from the village of Plomari, to his eternal memory + the hand of Ioannis. 1870 March 27.

This is a new engraving, with minor differences from the preceding one. The balconies of the Monastery have been treated differently, because the building works undertaken by Abbot Neophytos in the years 1862 to 1864 had taken place in the meantime; on the top floor but one a pulley has been added, from which hangs a rope and basket for the hauling up of vegetables from the gardens. There is a steamboat at sea. The engraver of this work, Ioannis Kaldis from Lesvos, was well-known on the Holy Mountain. He worked between the years 1858 and 1878, and today 20 of his copper engravings of this period are known to us. There must have been some special link between the Kaldis family and Simonopetra, since Konstantinos, who paid for the engraving of the plate, was the father of the engraver Ioannis[13].

The third and largest (785 x 575) (fig. 8) copper engraving of Simonopetra (1868) is also the work of Ioannis Kaldis. Below the picture, on the left, there is the following inscription: *+Ἡ παροῦσα νέα εἰκονογραφία, τῆς Ἱ[ερᾶς] Σε[βασμίας] Βασι[λικῆς] Πατριαρχ[ικῆς] κ[αί] Σταυροπηγ[ιακῆς] Κοινοβιακῆς Μονῆς, Σίμωνος πέτρας τῆς ἐν τῷ // Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει κειμένης, σεμνυνομένης τε ἐπ' ὀνόματι, τῶν Χριστοῦ γενεθλίων, ἐχαλκαχαράχθη δι' ἐξόδων τῆς αυτῆς, ἐπί ἡγουμ[ενίας] Νεοφύτου Ἱε//ρομ[ονάχου] εἰς μνημόσυνον τοῦ αοιδιμου κτήτορος ταύτης Ἰωάνου Οὔγγλεσι Βασιλέως Σερβίας κ[αί] πάσης Ῥωμανίας. ἐν Ἁγίῳ ὄρει τοῦ Ἄθω. 1868 τῇ 20 Μ[αΐου].*

The present new depiction of the Holy Venerable Royal Patriarchal and Stavropegic Coenobitic Monastery of Simonopetra, situated on the Holy Mountain, rejoicing in the name of the Nativity of Christ, was engraved in copper at the expense of the same, the priest-monk Neophytos being abbot, in remembrance of the venerable founder thereof, Ioannis Uglješa, King of Serbia and All Romania, on the Holy Mountain of Athos, 20 May 1868.

There is a similar inscription in Slavonic on the right, while the 13 small scenes which frame the picture of the Monastery are accompanied by explanatory inscriptions in the two languages. Below, on the outer border of the engraving, an inscription names the engraver:

Ἐχαλκοχαράχθη Διά χειρος Ἰωάννου κω[νσταντίνου] λεσβίου.

Engraved on copper by the hand of Ioannis, son of Ko[nstantinos] of Lesvos.

The wording of the longer inscription -*"the present new depiction"* - presupposes an older model, perhaps the engraving of 1836 or some other, which Ioannis had copied. The relevant entries are on folio 163 of the Monastery's register of transactions for the year 1868:

1868, July, 854 piastres, 20 paras to Io[annis] of Lesvos, copper engraver, for the new engraving which he made of our Holy Monastery.

200 piastres to Dionysios the Painter who designed the icon and miracles as seen[14].

The drawing by the painter Dionysios of the icon and the miracles of the founder served as the model for the engraver Ioannis. The basic model for both of them was the icon of the founder, St Simon, *"situated in the katholikon on the north eastern column"*, which was burnt in the great fire of 1891.

The depiction of Simonopetra and the surrounding countryside in the centre is similar in a number of ways to that in the engraving of 1836. There are, however, significant differences: the engraving is more detailed, the fortress structure of the Monastery of greater height, the new buildings of the years 1862 - 1864 stand out plainly and there are more buildings at the arsanas; the kathismata of Ayios Savas and Panayitsa and the shrine have been added.

Of the 13 small icons which surround the central subject, three are of St Simon, the Nativity and Mary Magdalene, nine deal with the life and miracles of the founder and one portrays the son of Uglješa, the Blessed Ioasaph, who, according to traditions, was a monk of Simonopetra. The scenes, naively drawn, present to the eyes of the pilgrim a faithful account of the relevant passages from the life of the Saint and bring to life in his eyes the long and wonderful history of the Monastery[15].

Simonopetra constantly ordered engravings from the Athonite printers to meet the needs of pilgrims and of the journeys undertaken by its monks. Light is thrown upon this by its registers of transactions. Between 1849 and 1902 there are more than 40 entries dealing with this subject. Ten of these concern the printer Father Grigorios of Vatopedi (1849-1862); 12 Fathers Anthimos (1852), Gavriil (1868-1873) and Iosiph (1874-1878), from the Simonopetra kelli of St George Kalathas at Karyes, and 15 Father Haralambos (1881-1902) from the Koutloumousi kelli of the Prophet Elijah at Karyes and bellringer of the Protaton. In 1856, a print cost 16 paras, in 1862, 10, in 1871, 15 for a large one and 8 for a small one and in 1885, 35 for the large print and 9 for the small. In these notes a distinction is usually made between the prints depicting monasteries and those with other subjects. In 1881 it is noted that the printer Father Haralambos has the Monastery's two plates (*bakiria*) at Karyes. They were returned to the Monastery in the 1960s. Between 1849 and 1902, the Monastery was supplied with more than 17,000 prints, a figure indicative of the currency of paper icons.

Today, Simonopetra's collection[16] contains 27 copper plates with 37 subjects, 21 of which have not been published, and some 200 paper icons, of which 50 are unpublished or incompletely published; some are preserved in more than one copy. Papastratos's work drew references from the collection to 45 icons and copper plates. Of the unpublished or incompletely published engravings in the collection, three belong to the 18th century (1713, 1733, c. 1765) and the rest to the 19th. Forty have various religious scenes, 15 monasteries and sketes and the rest other subjects. The majority were engraved and printed on the Holy Mountain. Thanks to this fact, we first meet with the monk Gerasimos of Hydra as the engraver of a double-sided die with the Blessed Virgin (1832) on one side and ships on the other. Among other works by Athonite engravers whose names are known to us is one (1809) by Sevastianos of Smyrna Hadji-Ioannis, one by the priest-monk Parthenios of Zakynthos, one (1832) by Daniil, two (1847, 1859) by Cyril, two (1847, c. 1850) by Thomas Sideris, one (1849) by Gennadios the Russian and one by Ioannis of Lesvos[17].

There was on Athos from the end of the 18th century, in parallel with the 'Philokalian Renaissance'[18], an increase in ascetic, publishing and building zeal and a veritable outburst in the production and distribution of paper icons, particularly in the middle years of the 19th century, the golden age of copper engraving. These paper icons were used to decorate churches, icon shrines and the houses of 'Christ's poor'. All this had a significant effect on the spiritual

life of the faithful, rendering them firm in their conviction that the Holy Mountain is the religious centre *par excellence*, the ark of Orthodoxy and of the Christian world.

Seals

Although the seals of Mt Athos have never been investigated, they are nonetheless a significant chapter in the history of the area and an important part of its artistic heritage, and are directly connected with the world of engraving.

Very few of the medieval seals of the Athonite monasteries have survived. The fire of 1580 left Simonopetra without any such seals at all. The earliest to have survived dates from after this time.

The seals with which we are familiar can be divided into five categories: those of the monasteries, those of the abbots, those of the delegation at Karyes, those of the *metochia* and those of individual monks (figs. 17-18, 145-160)

Research to date has brought to light thirty seal imprints, and the monastery collection has preserved ten of the seals.

The Great Seal of the Monastery was affixed to official documents "bearing the holy seal", The smaller seal was used for everyday purposes.

The stamp on the seals of Simonopetra was a representation of the Nativity of Christ, with the exception of a seal of 1787, which shows the founder. The inscription varied from time to time: + ΙΗCΟΥ ΧΡΙCΤΟΥ · Η ΓΕΝΝΗCΗC · ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ CΙΜΩΝΟC *(The Nativity of Jesus Christ, of St Simon);* +CΦΡΑΓΙC ΑΓΙΑ · ΤΗC ΘΕΙΑC ΙΕΡΑC ΚΑΙ ΒΑCΙΛΙΚΗC ΜΕΓΙCΤΗC ΜΟΝΗC · ΤΗC ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΗC CΙΜΟΠΕΤΡΑC *(The Holy Seal of the Divine, Holy and Royal Great Monastery called Simopetra);* +CΦΡΑΓΙC ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΟΒΙΟΥ · CΙΜΩΝΟC ΠΕΤΡΑC · ΑΩΕ *(Seal of the Holy Coenobium of Simonos Petra, 1805);* + Η CΦΡΑΓΙΣ ΤΗC · ΙΕΡΑΣ · ΜΟΝΗΣ · ΤΟΥ · CΙΜΟΝΟΣ · ΠΕΤΡΑΣ · ΤΟΥ · ΑΘΩΝΟΣ *(The Seal of the Holy Monastery of Simonopetra, Athos).* In 1848, a special large circular seal was made: this was called the 'debit seal', and it had an engraved representation of the Monastery as its stamp. It was used for stamping documents of a financial nature, and in particular for debit bonds. The small seals were engraved with a stylised representation of the Monastery's structure. The seals with Russian inscriptions were for the special purposes of a specific period, that during which the Monastery had correspondence with Russia and fund-raising journeys there were made. The personal seals belonged to Abbots or monks who had a particular position in the Monastery administration. They bore the owner's name (in full or as a monogram), a cross, a double-headed eagle or a phoenix, together with the year in which the seal was engraved. Only one seal from the Karyes delegation has survived: it bears a cross in the centre, and around it the inscription, ΑΝΤΙΠΡΟΣΩΠΕΙΟΝ Ι.Μ. ΣΙΜΩΝΟΣ ΠΕΤΡΑΣ *(Delegation of the Holy Monastery of Simonopetra)*, together with two from the Monastery's very important metochi, St Nicholas in Bucharest: they show the saint, in the centre, and bear the inscription, + ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΒΟΕΒΟΝΔΑ *(Seal of the Monastery of St Nicholas. Michail Voevonda).*

At present we know little of the workshops where the seals were made. It is certain that the 19th century seals were made at local goldsmiths' shops: there are entries in the Inventories of Transactions of 1848 concerning expenditure of *"077 piastres for the casting and engraving of our new seal"*, and of 1852 of a payment to the goldsmith Michail of 100 piastres for *"a small seal"* and various other minute objects. Some of the features of the inscriptions and the manner in which the figures are engraved point to a close relationship with the workshops of the Athonite engravers of the time. In some cases, the engraving work done by gifted artists can surpass the limitation of the scale involved, producing representations of admirable clarity (figs. 17, 149, 156) which, sometimes, are real works of art.

Antimensia

Deacon-monk Nilos

The sacristy of the Monastery contains a collection of some 50 antimensia (of the 16th to the 19th century)[1]. The *antimension,* a liturgical ornament of primary importance, known to have been in use as early as the 8th century[2], is usually made of linen, in the shape of a rectangular parallelogram. It serves in place of a consecrated Holy Table as a portable altar for the celebration of the Divine Liturgy in places where there is no altar at all (ships, army tents, in the open air) or where there is an altar but it is unconsecrated (chapels, hermitages, etc.)[3]. On the surface of the antimension were painted, and later printed, scenes and inscriptions having to do with the symbolism of the altar as the tomb and throne of Christ, while relics were sewn into its borders. Today, the liturgical use of this ornament has become general, as it has replaced the *heileton* (corporal) of a consecrated altar[4]. The Monastery's collection of antimensia is of great importance, both from a liturgical point of view and from that of art history. A study of them reveals a world of art with the broadest of geographical bounds. The inscriptions on them are valuable sources for lists of bishops, on engravers, benefactors, donors both clerical and lay who contributed to their printing, on the centres from which they came and where they were printed and the time and place of their consecration.

There are in the Simonopetra collection some 20 representative samples of types and variants in the long history of the iconographic programme of the antimensia. Many of these come from the great centres of Orthodoxy, such as the ancient Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch, from important bishoprics subject to the Ecumenical Throne in Greece and Cyprus, as well as from Slav countries. The majority, naturally enough, come from workshops on Athos itself. Apart from the Holy Mountain, Venice, Leghorn and Nicosia are recorded as the places where they were engraved and printed. As far as their dates are concerned, one of the antimensia can be dated to the 16th century, 12 belong to the 18th and the rest date from between the years 1800 and 1878. The majority are printed in black ink on linen, though a few are printed on satin or paper. One is printed in red ink, two in blue and one in brown. Apart from the first, which is painted, the antimensia have been printed by the wood or copper engraving method.

The contents of the inscriptions[5] yield a number of names of engravers known to us from other works, among them: Parthenios, priest-monk from Elasson (1779-1782)[6], Ioannis Kornaros the Cretan (1773-1802), the priest-monk Parthenios (probably the Zakynthian: 1809-1820), the monk Theodosios the Russian (1807-1814), the priest-monk Daniil Hadjipankratiou (1831-1870?), the priest-monk Ignatios of Lesvos (1841-1853), the monk Anthimos Alitzeridis from the Peloponnese (1836-1847) and Ioannis Kaldis of Lesvos (1858-1878), as well as the name of the monk Theophilos of Corfu (1826), hitherto unknown, who seems to have been the originator of the iconographic innovation of the so-called 'Hagioritic type' of antimension. Another catalogue of names can be derived from the study of the inscriptions: of those who gave their financial support for the engraving, printing or reprinting of one or more antimensia in the collection. Of note among these are the Archbishops of Cyprus Chrysanthos (1763-1810) and Ioannikios (1847), St Makarios (Notaras), Bishop of Corinth (1731-1805), the priest-monk Gavriil of Vatopedi (1763-1767), the Archimandrite Ioakeim Valamonte (1837), the priest-monk Gavriil (1870), the Athonite monks Grigorios and Raphael (1811-1817), Pankratios (1836-1840), Veniamin (1842), Averkios Kombologas (1916), Chrysogonos and Neophytos (1878), the priest-monk Neophytos Kombologas (1916) and the laymen Georgios Demas and Demos Georgiou (1765). Some of these are known to us already as financing other religious engravings[7].

The iconographic programme of the antimension developed over many centuries; it can be divided basically into three periods. Examples of all three are to be found in the collection. The oldest to survive (of the 16th century) are decorated in the centre with a cross on a base and the instruments of the Passion (the lance, reed and sponge) and the usual letters in ligature of the monastic Great Schema. On the left and right, and more rarely below, they bear the text of their dedication and in the four corners the names of the Evangelists or the words from

the Apocalypse *"ἄδοντα"*, *"βοῶντα"*, *"κεκραγότα"*, καί *"λέγοντα"* ('singing', 'crying aloud', 'proclaiming', 'and saying'). This ancient and simple design seems to have constituted the decoration of this ornament in Byzantine times also and was of a symbolic character[8]. A representative example of the antimensia of this period is the oldest surviving one in the collection (illus. 39). It is painted in ink and is in relatively good condition. Its decoration is supplemented at the top by the cosmic symbols of the sun and moon and below by the dedicatory inscription: *"+θισηαστήριον θηων κ[αί] ηερών ἀφιεροθέν παπ[α] νικταρίου // ερομονάχου ης τόν αγιων ηληα θεσβίτου προφιτου:-"*[9] *(A divine and sacred altar dedicated by Father Nektarios, priest monk, to the holy and venerable prophet Elijah.).* The naive decoration of the ornament, of a markedly symbolic character, shows that we are here in the first period of development of the subject-matter of antimensia.

From the end of the 16th century, we find, together with the Cross, 'Christ as the Lamb of God' or the *'Akra Tapeinosis'* ('Ultimate Humility') depicted, subjects with both a eucharistic and eschatological connotation. During this second period the names of the Evangelists are replaced by their symbols, drawn from the Apocalypse, while the dedicatory inscription either remains in the centre or, more usually, begins to be displaced to the borders.

From the early 18th century, the beginning of the third period, the decoration of the antimensia, in correlation with liturgical developments, acquires a narrative character, with the depiction initially of the *'Epitaphios Threnos'* (Mourning at the Tomb) and then of other scenes from the life of Christ (the Descent from the Cross, the Resurrection) and of the figures of the four Evangelists, who thus replace their symbols. This decoration is now, with the advances of printing, produced exclusively by the techniques of wood or copper engraving. Those antimensia printed on Athos may be regarded as a special group within this third period; their chief characteristic is the innovation of framing the central subject of the *epitaphios* with a series of small depictions whose content is drawn from the Liturgy, feast days and the life of Christ. The Holy Mountain had acquired as early as the last quarter of the 18th century a leading position as a centre for the engraving and printing of religious engravings : a large number of engravers whose names are known to us, monks for the most part, set up workshops there which became the source of a whole series of antimensia, and, with the passage of time, the familiar 'Hagioritic' type of iconography of this liturgical article took shape. Many of the antimensia bear the words 'on the Holy Mountain' or 'in Karyes'. An early example of the iconographic type of the third period is the printed antimension of the year 1707 (fig. 161) in the collection. Its decorated surface is dominated by a representation of the Mourning at the Tomb, while the corners contain the symbols of the Evangelists in circular medallions[10]. High in the centre, God the Father is shown sending forth the Holy Spirit. Five inscriptions in the form of tablets in Slavonic script fill the intervening spaces and inform us that the ornament was consecrated during the reign of Peter the Great in 1707, obviously in Russia, at a time when the Patriarchate was vacant. The figures show a dependence upon Orthodox icon-painting style which is important for that period.

The central depiction of the Mourning at the Tomb began, over the years, to be confined to the middle, while other scenes from the life of Christ were added. These secondary iconographic features create a broad framework around the main theme of the epitaphios. This iconographic programme is represented in the collection by an important group of antimensia, the first of which is from Antioch and dates from 1724 and the last from Leghorn, belonging to the year 1837. Also belonging to this group is the antimension of Parthenios of Elasson, which was engraved and printed on the Holy Mountain in 1780 (fig. 162). The decoration bears the obvious marks of Western influence in its rococo ornamentation, since Parthenios was somewhat inexpertly copying older compositions of foreign origin[11]. A noteworthy feature is the fact that below, in the middle, the engraver has a royal coat-of-arms with a double-headed eagle whose body is a medallion containing a depiction of the Church of the Resurrection. Next to the eagle's crown are the letters KNCT / ΠΛ (= Constantinople). This feature, unique among the antimensia occurs in another work by the same engraver[12]. This work is one of the first ten engravings which we know of at present produced on Athos before 1800.

The antimension engraved in 1802 by the Cretan painter Ioannis Kornaros (fig. 163) has a different geographical origin—Cyprus. This is a variation on the earlier iconographic pro-

gramme; here the whole composition is characterised by an obvious realism in the working of the faces and the folds in the garments. The engraving of the work is painstaking and the marked chiaroscuro gives it a three-dimensional quality. In the margin of the ornament there is a note of its consecration in 1880 by Nilos, Bishop of Pentapolis, on the occasion of the dedication of what is today the church of the Monastery's konaki in Karyes. The work was copied by the Ithacan engraver Parthenios Karavias in 1805. The workshops of Mt Athos began from the time when they were first set up gradually to create their own style, in which Western influence was minimised and a naive manner which was austere and somewhat rigid prevailed. The figures and scenes fell into line with the iconographic models of the popular portable icons of the period. This style crystallised in the first quarter of the 19th century, which coincided with the creation of the so-called 'Hagioritic type' of antimension by the engraver-monk Theophilos of Corfu in 1826. A special characteristic of the iconographic programme of Theophilos was the bordering of the central subject of the Mourning at the Tomb with a row of framed icons depicting liturgical and festal themes of a manifestly symbolic nature. This new iconographic type was copied by virtually all the subsequent antimensia of Athonite origin, produced by the engravers Daniel (1836), Ignatios (1842), Anthimos the Peloponnesian (1837, 1847) and Ioannis Kaldis (1869, 1870, 1878)[13]. The antimension of Kaldis of the year 1878 (fig. 164), which is a copy of one of his own of 1869, follows faithfully the antimension of Theophilos, both in the arrangement of the individual subjects and in the style, which remained unchanged up to that date (1878). In the antimension of Kaldis and in earlier ones like it, the transcendent nature of the figures depicted and the simplicity and austerity of their line are obvious features. This iconographic type continued to be reprinted on antimensia down to the mid 20th century.

Simonopetra in Paintings and Engravings

F.-M. Tsigakou

History needs its illustrators; and those most suited for this role are the illustrators of an age —its visual artists. Here Greece has been lucky, because, even in the period when historical conditions impeded the development of an established national production of works of art, it had the good fortune to have its own 'portraitists': those foreign artist-travellers who set down a permanent record of the country and its inhabitants. Nowadays, students of modern Greek history make systematic use of works on Greek subjects produced by these artists and travellers, particularly during the centuries of Frankish or Turkish domination, since these constitute the only visual evidence for that period.

A great variety of motives led foreigners to explore Greece in the past: some of these were military (as in the case of diplomats or military representatives), religious (pilgrims, missionaries), commercial and scholarly (geographers, naturalists, historians, archaeologists, architects, etc.). Other visitors were treasure-hunters or were moved by artistic considerations, as in the case of antiquaries or those in search of pictures with local colour, or the personal motives of travelling *"out of curiosity and to inform themselves"* [1]. The European nobleman of the 18th century considered his education complete only when he had visited the ancient sites of Italy and Greece. The great flood of travellers which swept over the country at the end of that century led to the production of publications on Greece with the frequency of one or more volumes each year and reinforced the attraction which the 'country of classical beauty' had always exercised on Europeans. This was the period when lavish albums illustrated with pictures of the ancient Greek monuments lent wings to the imagination of the European devotees of antiquity, strengthening their conviction of the superiority of ancient Greek taste[2]. During the early years of the 19th century, the study of the ancient Greek architectural monuments was regarded as a necessary condition for the professional training of every European

architect[3]. The development of the natural sciences which followed and an increase in European interest in scientifically conducted topographical research produced a change in the subject matter chosen by travellers: the recording of the ancient monuments gave place to the rendering of their natural environment. This resulted in the publication of an impressive number of illustrated travel books, in which a variety of aspects of the contemporary scenery of Greece (landscape, houses, people, scenes from everyday life) was immortalised[4]. The War of Independence stemmed the flow of travellers for a while, but it did not stop the continuing production by the artists of Europe of works which drew their inspiration from Greece; indeed, the struggles of the Greeks to liberate themselves struck particularly deep into the hearts of European artists[5]. The wedding of the ancient past to contemporary history cast a fresh air of allure around Greece. The existence, side by side, of monuments of different periods in the post-Revolution Greek landscape was a magnet which constantly drew foreign artist-travellers throughout the 19th century, since it provided them with subjects with a boundless potential for romantic and picturesque allusion.

The paintings and engravings with Greek subjects produced by foreign artist-travellers constitute, as a whole, an archive of pictures of exceptional value for a reconstruction of the physiognomy of post-Byzantine Greece. Such works, though differing widely in quality, not only testify to the artistic virtues of their creators, but also provide confirmation of written evidence. Scholars specialising in this field have, certainly, noted the lack of homogeneity in the scholarly correctness of the evidence provided by the renderings of specific themes, but this is only natural, since a work of art is not 'photographic' evidence, but an individual's deposition, which reveals the artist's ability to get close to his subject and expresses the tastes of his clients, just as it mirrors the aesthetics then in vogue. Consequently, the establishing of the degree of 'reliability' of such representations depends upon the adequacy of the researcher's scholarship and his skill in deciphering the pictorial code used in each instance by the artist.

There are very few such representations of Simonopetra[6]—or, indeed, of Mt Athos in general—but this is not surprising, given the inaccessibility of the area and the fact that for many centuries it lay off the established itinerary followed by travellers. The written accounts too are sporadic and often second-hand[7], since the authors drew upon the experience of sailing alongside the Athos peninsula, and normally copied from the few who had actually set foot upon it. The first eyewitness accounts of the region are provided by two Italian travellers of the 15th century: the Florentine priest Cristoforo Buondelmonti[8] and Cyriac of Ancona, a devotee of antiquity[9]. The map of the Holy Mountain reproduced in the *Isolario* of Buondelmonti[10] represents the first attempt to depict—even if conventionally—a small number of monasteries within the geographical and natural space of the peninsula. An equally conventional, cartographic, approach characterises the copper engraving of the French naturalist Pierre Belon du Mans, dated 1553, which shows the western side of Athos[11]. The view of Athos with the Vatopedi Monastery and the Athonite School produced c.1790 by the British artist and traveller Thomas Hope should, perhaps, be regarded as the first landscape of the Mountain[12].

An early representation of Simonopetra appears in a religious woodcut. The three monasteries (Simonopetra, Dionysiou and Gregoriou) have here been shown in their natural environment, in a summary linear form of composition which reflects the codified approach of the medieval miniature (fig. 6) The depiction of Simonopetra in the general view of the west side of the Athos promontory which illustrates Komninos's *Proskynitarion* (fig. 3) is a product of the imagination. It is in the drawing of 1744 produced by Barskij (fig. 7) that we have an overall view of the building complex of the Monastery and the surrounding landscape. In spite of his ignorance of perspective, this observant traveller has sketched a line drawing of the topography in which both the site of the Monastery and the arrangement of its ancillary buildings, as well as the details of the natural landscape, are rendered vividly and with clarity. In the Athonite religious copper engravings of the 19th century, the Monastery is now depicted with its specific architectural features. Equally recognisable is its natural environment, rendered with that compressed spatial arrangement *(horror vacui)* which is a characteristic of the style of such engravings. In the copper engravings (see Papastratos nos 498, 499), the rhythmical way in which the features of the architecture and the landscape are distributed produces an

imposing geometrical composition of high artistic quality. Of the engravings produced in the 19th century by foreign artist-travellers on their travels, those of Curzon (fig. 10) and the later one by Riley (fig. 212) remain within the bounds of the standardised picturesque views which predominated in the multiplicity of European travel books of the period. On a quite different level of interest are the watercolours of Edward Lear, who visited the Holy Mountain in September 1856[13] (fig. 1). The artist's exemplary economy of means —as displayed in his restrained range of colours and his sensitive and descriptive line— has created a picture without affectation in which the features and the atmosphere of the landscape have been faithfully rendered.

Greek painting of the 19th century has very few Athonite landscapes to show. It was only at the beginning of that century that landscape painting, as an independent form of artistic expression, had managed to establish itself in Europe[14]. The Greek landscape painters of the 19th century, as was, indeed, the case with all the Greek artists 'within and without' the Schools of Munich and Paris[15], hesitantly followed the European artistic fashions and carried back to their country their progressive messages with a standard delay of 15 years or more. The spirit of eclectic classicism which established itself in the newly-constituted Greek kingdom together with the Bavarian dynasty initially favoured a choice of heroic, historical themes. This lost impetus in the course of the 19th century, giving place to subjects drawn from everyday life, still lifes and landscapes, which reflected the preferences of the modern Greek bourgeois society then developing. Of the so-called 'masters' of the first generation of Greek academic painters, it was Constantine Volanakis (1839-1907) who inaugurated by his landscapes and seascapes the dialogue of the Greek artist with the natural world. However, the concern to express the features the open-air world of Greece was not to attract the majority of Greek painters until the end of the 19th century, a period under the tutelage of the achievements and precepts of French artists. It was the painters of the '30s generation who finally restored an inner contact with Greek nature in their landscapes.

The works of Greek artists which have Simonopetra as their subject and are included in this publication[16] are marked by a variety of pictorial conventions: the accuracy of the drawing and the harmonious contrast of light and dark surfaces in the engraving of Lykourgos Koyevinas (1887-1940, fig. 171) testify to the technical mastery of the artist. The dazzling colour combinations of Spyros Papaloukas (1892-1957, fig. 165) reveal the daring treatment of the Greek light which is a mark of his work. The lyrical welter of colour in the work of Nikos-Gavriil Pentzikis (1908- , fig. 169) reflects the Byzantine tradition which the artist has espoused. Greater interest in the subject matter is shown by Polykleitos Rengos (1903-1984) in his landscape (fig. 170) which moves in the direction of French post-impressionist explorations. The colour crayon drawing of Takis Katsoulidis (1933- , fig. 173) is representational in mood and involves a fresh interchange between the artist's colours and the local light. The pictures reproduced here constitute, as a whole, a multifarious body of pictorial material which has a double value: both as an 'external' and as an 'inner' testimony— pictorial material which invites a variety of historical and aesthetic readings.

Fig. 165 Simonopetra. Oils. Spyros Papaloukas (National Mortgage Bank of Greece) (p. 252).

Fig. 166 Simonopetra. Woodcut. Polykleitos Rengos, 1934.

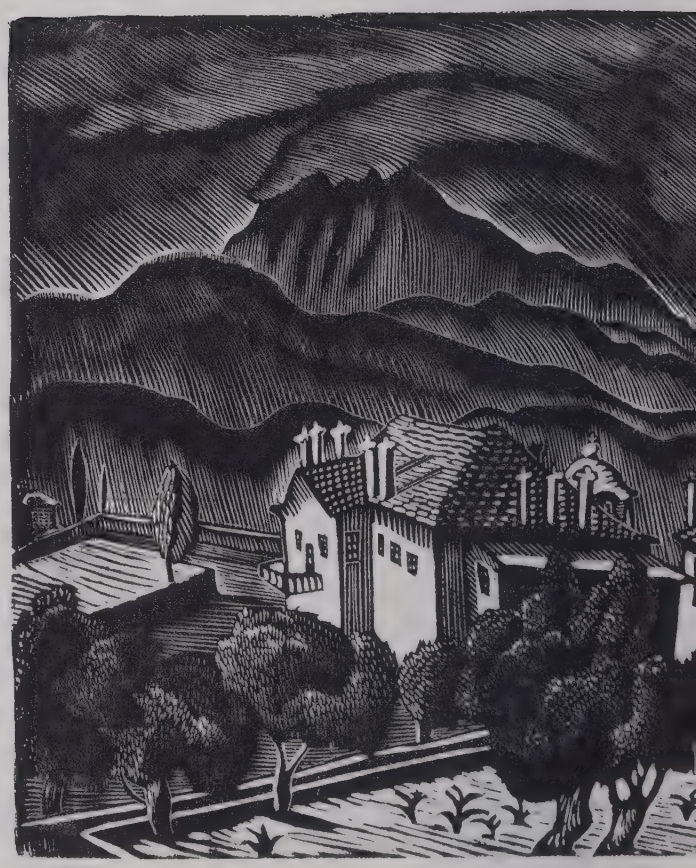

Fig. 167 Karyes. Woodcut. Polykleitos Rengos, 1934.

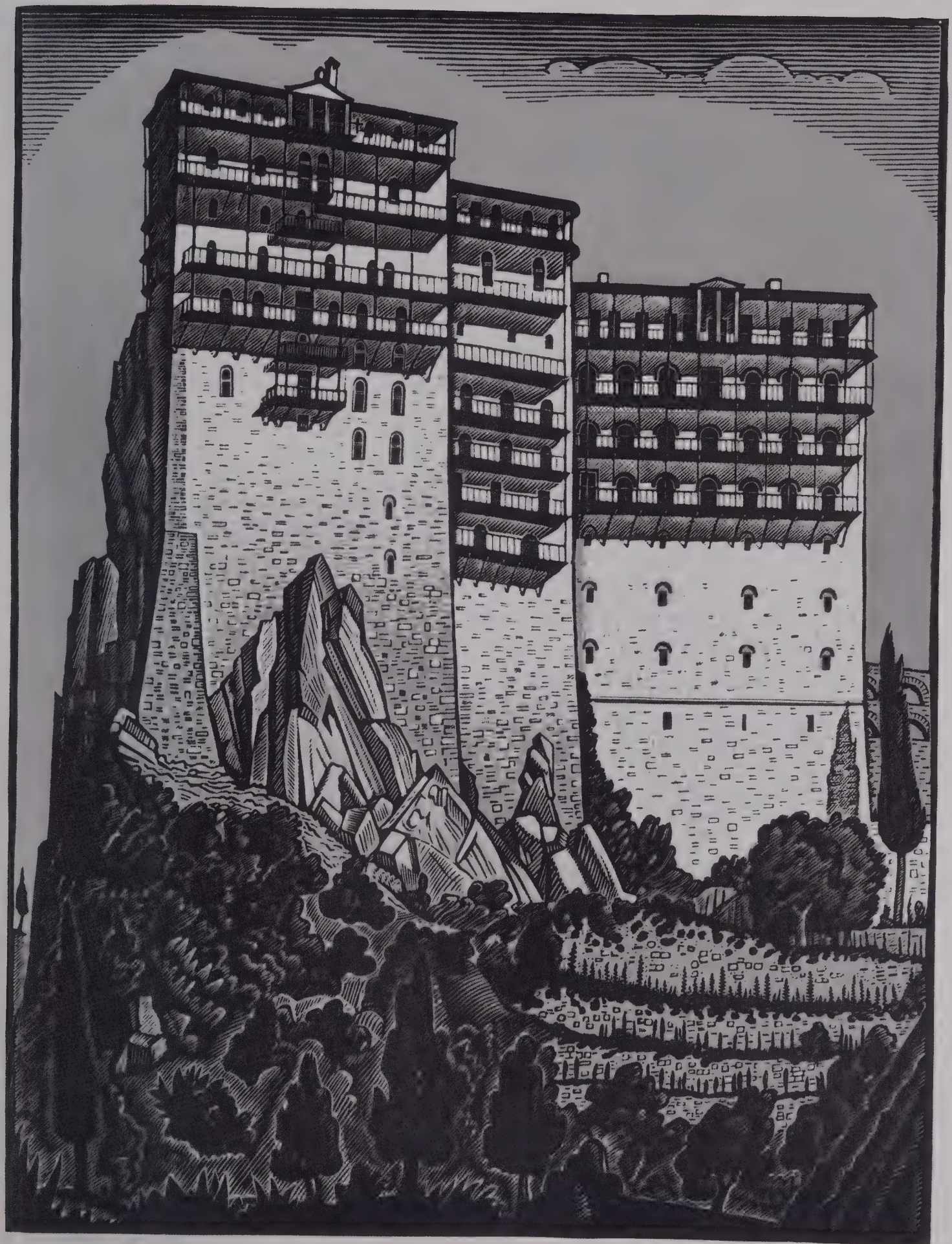

Fig. 168 Simonopetra. Engraving. Yeorgios Moschos, 1978 (National Gallery, Athens).

Fig. 169 Simonopetra. Tempera. Nikos - Gavriil Pentzikis, 1980 (Simonopetra Collection) (p. 252).

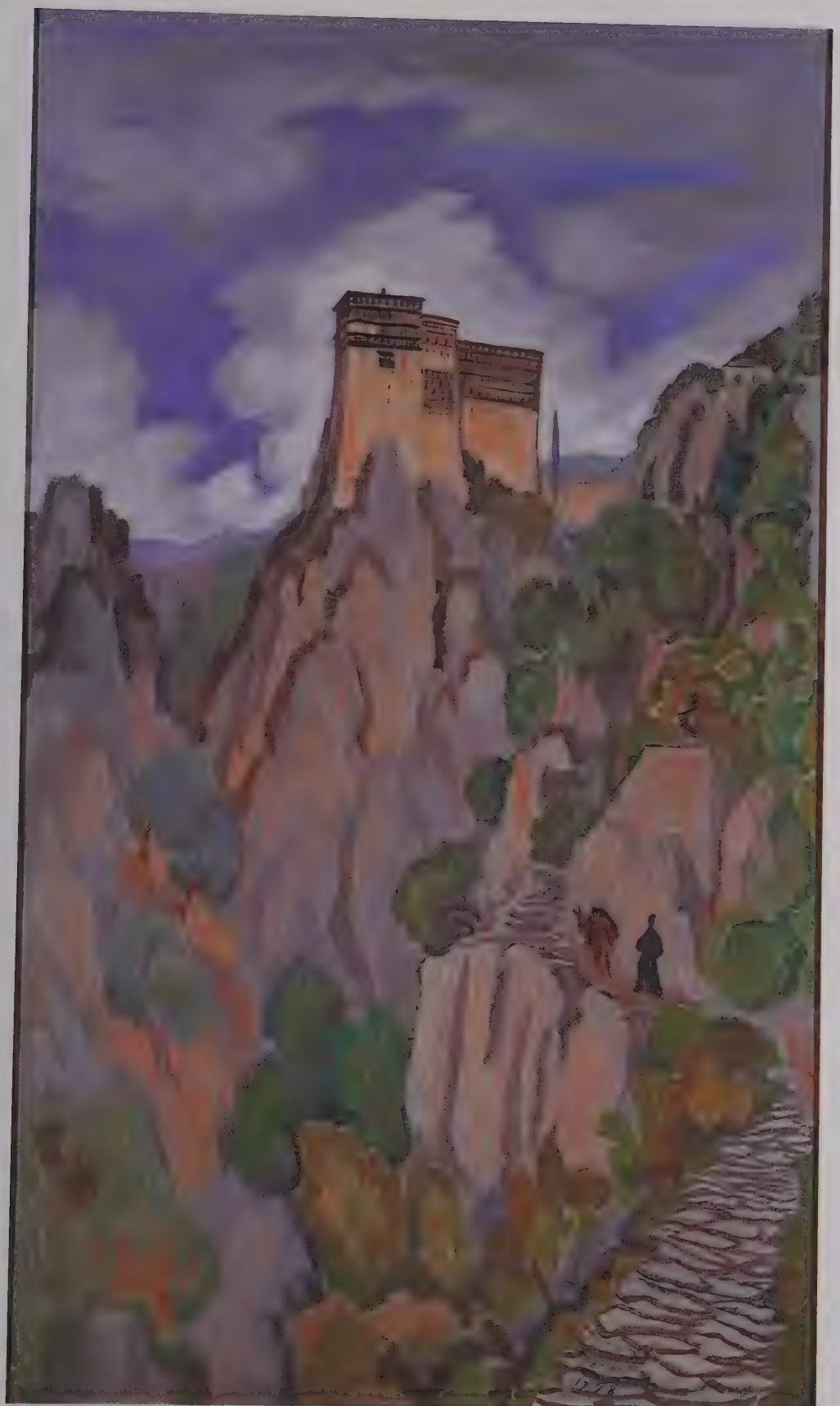

Fig. 170 'Going up to Simonopetra'. Mixed technique on canvas. Polykleitos Rengos, 1978 (Bank of Macedonia and Thrace) (p. 252).

Fig. 171 Monastery of Simonopetra. Etching. Lykourgos Koyevinas, 1922 (National Gallery, Athens) (p. 252).

Fig. 172 Simonopetra. Linocut. R. Zwerger, 1975.

Fig. 173 Simonopetra. Crayon drawing. Takis Katsoulidis, 1988 (Simonopetra Collection) (p. 252).

Fig. 174 Simonopetra. Woodcut. Efthymios Papadimitriou, 1935.

ARCHIVES

Introduction

Regardless of the language in which they were drawn up (Greek, Turkish, Slavo-Romanian or Latin) and of the historical period to which they belong (Byzantine, post-Byzantine or modern), the documentary treasures to be found in the monasteries of Mt Athos are an indivisible and organic entity. Research into the history of the Athonite monasteries cannot be achieved, and the problems which arise cannot be solved, without a critical approach to this archive material as a whole. The division of the archives into categories by language serves only practical and methodological purposes.

The question of this overall approach acquires even greater urgency during the period of Turkish rule: the Greek archives express a reality which is enduring and ever-present, the Turkish documents represent official state authority, and the Slavo-Romanian documents demonstrate the close relations between the Transdanubian principalities and the Athonite state.

The Greek Documents

K. Chryssochoïdis

The Greek archives of Mt Athos are perhaps the only collection of archival material in Greece to cover the whole period from Byzantium to the present without interruption.

The archives of Mt Athos are an indivisible and organic entity, and any attempt to draw chronological dividing lines or group them into periods can only be a matter of convention. However, an investigation of their contents demands that they be distinguished according to the phases of Greek history.

Thus 'Byzantine documents' are those dating from the period prior to 1453, 'post-Byzantine documents' are those produced between 1453 and the late 18th century, and 'modern documents' are those of the 19th and 20th centuries.

As for the types of document, the principal categories are those of Byzantine Emperors, Kings of Serbia, princes, public functionaries (these are primarily the 'reports' and accounts of debt-collectors), patriarchs, bishops, the Protoi of Mt Athos and, after the 17th century, of the Holy Council at Karyes. Among the more specialised categories are the monastic and private documents. The archives also contain financial ledgers and registers of monks, dating chiefly from after the 16th century[1].

The Byzantine archive of Simonopetra Monastery and the post-Byzantine documents down to 1580 were burned in the fire which occured on 11 December of that year and destroyed nearly all the Monastery. This leads to the conclusion that the archive was not kept in the *katholikon*, with the manuscripts, but probably in the sacristy. The fire must have swept through the Monastery with great suddenness, since in such cases the monks' first priority,

after saving the treasures, was to rescue the documents, particularly those connected with the foundation of the Monastery and its privileges and the deeds of ownership of its dependencies on Mt Athos and its *metochia*. In the eyes of the monks, the loss of the archive was the gravest blow to the Monastery. A *'sigillium letter'* from the Council at Karyes, dating from late December 1580 or early 1581, records that the fire not only gutted the buildings and burned the relics: *"most important of all, it destroyed all trace of the chrysobulls and sigillium letters therein and turned them all to ash"* [2].

The only remnant of the Byzantine archive is believed by many to be a document claimed to be a chrysobull of Ioannis Uglješa, Despot of *"Serbia and Romania"*, dating from 1363 and allegedly concerning the refounding of the Monastery[3]. This document relates the events surrounding the building of the Monastery and its endowment with treasures and valuable vessels. It describes in detail the dependencies and metochia which, after making the relevant purchases, the Serbian prince is said to have bestowed upon his monastery: on Mt Athos itself, these were the mountainous area at Dafni, the *kelli* at Dontas, the *Kathisma* of the Prophet Elijah near the Fakinou Monastery, and the *ecclesiastical kelli* close to the Protaton. Elsewhere, Uglješa endowed the Monastery with *"winter grazing"* at Longos in Sithonia, a metochi in the area of the river Strymonas, between the villages of Vernaro and Esfagmeno, buildings and land at Koumoutziana and the Trygi metochi on the island of Lemnos.

However, the contents and history of the document itself, which has not survived in full in the original or as a copy, lead to the conclusion that —at least in the form in which it has come down to us— it did not originate with Uglješa's chancery[4].

Apart from the erroneous date it bears (year and indictions), which has created further confusion but might be attributed to a copyist's mistake, the document contains some quite obvious anachronisms.

In the preamble, the list of the Despot's benefactions to various monastic foundations on Mt Athos contains a mention of the rebuilding of the little monastery of St Nicholas 'Makrou' (at Karyes)[5]. Yet this little monastery was not conceded to the Serbian prince by Protos Savas until January 1371, and indeed there must be doubts as to whether Uglješa had time to carry out any renovation work on it at all, given that he was killed in the Battle of Maritza in September of that same year[6].

Another enigmatic reference is that to the gift to Simonopetra of buildings and farms belonging to the Uglješa family at Koumoutziana[7]. If this placename is to be identified with Koumoutzena (modern Komotini), then it is difficult to believe that Uglješa could have held, by inheritance, land in an area which was part of Byzantine territory[8].

Furthermore, the description of the metochi at the site known as Roussopoulou on Lemnos mentions that the boundaries of the metochi had been fixed at some previous date by the census-takers Sevastopoulos and Cheilas[9]. However, these two state functionaries, who have been identified as Phocas Sevastopoulos and Ioannis Ducas, Princeps Cheilas, did not make their record of the land on Lemnos held by the monasteries of Mt Athos until 1387/88, twenty five years at least after the alleged gift of the site to Simonopetra by Uglješa[10]. In any case — still in reference to the Lemnos metochi— it would be out of the question for a Serbian prince to transfer the ownership of property in an area which had always belonged to the Byzantine state.

As for the history of the document, no chrysobull from the Despot of Serbia is mentioned by the *sigillium letter* from the Council at Karyes of 1580/81 (fig. 175), which was issued in order to protect the Monastery's property in view of the destruction of its title deeds; and this despite the fact that the dependencies and metochia listed in brief in the *sigillium letter* coincide with those referred to in the text of the chrysobull, with the exception of the land at Koumoutziana[11]. The Patriarchal *sigillium* of Jeremiah II, the Great, issued in May 1581 (fig. 176) in ratification of the Council's document, also makes no mention of a chrysobull[12], and a further decision of the Athonite authorities of 1594, which refers to a dispute between Simonopetra and Xeropotamou over the ownership of the Dontas kelli, states expressly that *"neither one party nor the other had any old chrysobulls"* [13].

The first mention of the document from the Serbian prince comes in 1614, thirty three years after the fire, and it occurs in a Council document which states that the monks of Simonopetra produced *"a founder's document containing all the property belonging to their Monastery on Mt Athos and elsewhere"* [14]. A year later, Patriarch Timotheus II —presumably referring to the same document— stated in a letter to the authorities of Mt Athos that the

monks of Simonopetra had *"the equivalent of a chrysobull"* (i.e. a copy)[15]. The complete text of the document is incorporated into a patriarchal and synodic *sigillium* of Cyril I Lucaris, dated 1622/23. On the application of the monks, *"so that the boundaries of those lands and the* metochia *be not consigned to forgetfulness, the human memory being so fallible"* and furthermore *"being by the passage of many years old and tattered"*, the copy they produced was transcribed and ratified by the Patriarch and the Synod (fig. 177)[16].

Despite all the above, Ioannis Uglješa may indeed be directly connected with the refounding of Simonopetra and the issuing of a chrysobull with donations to the Monastery. Support is lent to this view by the fact that although we know that the Despot helped the Athonite community, very few documents recording his gifts have survived in the archives of the monasteries[17].

The document ratified by Cyril I Lucaris, however, probably reflects the state of the Monastery's property during the 16th century. It is no coincidence that all the lands referred to in the chrysobull, with the exception of the ecclesiastical kelli at Karyes, the property at Koumoutziana and the Roussopoulou metochi on Lemnos are also described as belonging to Simonopetra in both the surviving vakıfnâme of 1569 (a.H. 976) and the *'sigillium letter'* from the Council at Karyes of 1580/81[18]. It was probably composed in the last decade of the 16th century and attributed to Ioannis Uglješa in order to clothe the Monastery's possession of the lands in question with historical authority. The document was prepared by combining sections from various other documents which were preserved in the Monastery archive until the great fire of 1580.

At least nine documents issued by the chancery of Simonopetra and dating from the period before the fire of 1580 have survived, as copies, in manuscript no. 370 of the Patriarchal Library of Jerusalem. They form part of a group of letters from Athonite monasteries[19], and, since they have survived in epistolatory form, most of them only make mention in passing of the essential features of a letter: the date, the addressee, the author and the persons referred to in the body of the text. Internal evidence and the dates recorded by some of the documents in this archival unit make it possible to place the letters as having been written between 1527/28 and 1541. One of the documents was sent by Anthimos, Protos of Mt Athos, who held office between 1527/28 and a date before 1533 (f. 170^{v}-171)[20], while a second bears the signature of Ignatios, Abbot of Iveron, who is mentioned in 1527 (f. 377^{v})[21]. The last dated document in this collection is a letter from Bishop Gerasimos to one of his spiritual children, of April 1541 (ff. 378-378^{v}). Bishop Gerasimos may be identified with the monk described as Abbot of Simonopetra (ff. 169-169^{v}) and the *locum tenens* of the Bishopric of Adrianople (f. 478) in two other documents from the collection. Some of the texts of the letters, including five of those from Simonopetra, may have been copied by Bishop Germanos, a monk in the St Savas Monastery in Palestine[22].

The Monastery sent all the letters, without exception. Two of them are signed by the Abbot Grigorios. Among the named recipients are Grigorios, Metropolitan of Zichnai, the noble Ducas Kritopoulos of Thessaloniki, and Assanina, wife of Theodore Gerakis. One of the letters is addressed to the islanders of Lemnos.

Most of these documents are letters of introduction, for the use of Fathers of Simonopetra who were touring in various parts in order to collect alms for their impoverished Monastery, or direct appeals to the addressees for financial support. The testimony they contain as to the state of the Monastery buildings or mishaps such as the capture of the Monastery boat or the taking of monks as hostages are most valuable for our knowledge of a period in its history which, from the point of view of source material, remains obscure.

Lastly, a double folio which was copied in the 17th century and is bound with Ms. no. 424 of the Patriarchal Library of Jerusalem contains two letters from the Council of Simonopetra, in 1630, to Mikhail Fyodorovics, Tsar of Russia, and Filaret, Patriarch of Muscovy[23].

The Monastery archive may have been burned in 1580, but the disaster was not repeated in 1891. Dmitrievskij tells us that, before abandoning the blazing Monastery, the monks had time to store the treasures, the sacred relics and the *"chrysobulls"* [24] in a fireproof room on the lower levels of the Monastery, which had an iron door to seal it off. For this reason the archive which was built up after 1580 has survived intact to the present day.

Of the visitors to the Monastery, Barskij, in 1744, saw six patriarchal *sigillia* dating from between 1581 and 1654, but rather unfairly complains of not being shown any chrysobulls from Byzantine Emperors[25]. A century later, in 1845, Porfiriy Uspenskij also counted six patriarchal documents[26], and in the following year Frearitis found twelve notable documents[27]. Of the archive

material seen by these visitors, only one of the documents mentioned by Frearitis has failed to survive: a chrysobull in a Slavonic language from Gheorge Brancović and his wife Irene, dating from 1430, by which the Serbian prince endowed the Monastery with twenty librae of silver[28].

The surviving documents of the post-Byzantine period date from 1516/17 to 1801, the year in which the Monastery became a coenobium. They number fifty five, and make up a representative archive, though a small one by comparison with the archives of other Athonite monasteries. Nineteen of these documents are patriarchal letters. Twelve of these, dating from between 1581 and 1801, are patriarchal and synodic *sigillia* on parchment. One of the documents is from a senior member of the clergy (Gavriil, Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, dating from 1748), eight were drawn up by the Council of Mt Athos between 1580/81 and 1703, and the remaining twenty six are from monasteries, ordinary monks or members of the laity.

Their contents, though almost exclusively practical in nature, touch on matters of vital importance for the physical existence and survival of the Monastery: protection of title deeds, donations, settlements of boundary disputes with other monasteries over dependencies on Athos, and cases concerning the metochia.

The oldest document, and the only one from the period prior to 1580, is a letter of agreement between Simonopetra and Koutloumousiou Monasteries, dated 1516/17, by which the monks of Koutloumousiou were granted the right to keep livestock at Simonopetra's metochi of Longos (fig. 182).

The first group of documents dating from after 1580 concerns the Monastery's attempts to re-establish itself and protect its property. This category includes the *sigillium letter* of 1580/81 from the Council at Karyes which we have already mentioned, by which the Monastery's land was safeguarded, and two *sigillium letters* from Patriarch Jeremiah II, both dating from May 1581. The former of these ratifies the earlier document from the Athonite authorities, while the second appoints the monks of Simonopetra as administrators of the Xenophontos Monastery. Three more *sigillia* by the same Patriarch were issued between 1590 and 1592 and concerned the Monastery's property in Wallachia and its metochi in Bucharest.

A second category of document consists of those relating to the Monastery's dependencies — principally kellia— and to the delineation of boundaries within the Athonite peninsula. The dispute between Simonopetra and Xeropotamou over the ownership of the kelli at Dontas and the area surrounding it is reflected in documents dating from between 1594 and 1760. Yet the disagreement must go still further back, and Xeropotamou has preserved a decision on it of the Council dating from 1527/28[29]. Two documents of 1643 and 1644, of which the second is a patriarchal and synodic *sigillium* of Parthenios I, concern a dispute with Docheiariou Monastery over an area at Dafni. The Annunciation kelli is the subject of a document of 1651: this is a *kelli homologon*, a type of deed of purchase of which large numbers are to be found in the Athonite archives. There is also a deed of sale from the Council, issued in 1661, by which the ownership of the John the Baptist *"tou Dionysi"* and Annunciation kellia passed to Simonopetra. Similar documents are in the possession of all the monasteries, and they reflect the fact that in that year the Great Fund (the 'Megali Mese') sold to the monasteries all the kellia which were still owned by the Protaton in order to pay off its debts.

The documents concerning the metochia, although few in number, are indicative of the Monastery's presence outside Mt Athos. The Siphnos metochi is the subject of a group of documents dating from 1629, the year in which the priest-monk Ieremias donated the church of St Artemius to the Monastery, to 1707, when the ecclesiastical authorities of the island acknowledged the monks as its owners. Two of these documents are parchment *sigillia* of the Patriarchs Cyril I Lucaris (1637) and Ioannikios II (1654)[30]. The Monastery's property on Lemnos was certified by two patriarchal and synodic *sigillia* of Grigorios V, dating from 1797 and 1798. The first of these mentions that the Trygi metochi had been in the Monastery's possession since 1588/89, while the second ratifies its re-purchase from the Iveron Monastery.

A deed of gift signed by Monsieur Vringas and his wife Zotina, dating from 1593, concerns a donation of land on the nearby island of Ayios Efstratios, while the boundaries of the land held by Simonopetra and Koutloumousiou at Longos in Halkidiki were settled by a letter of agreement of 1617. A letter of 1568 from Ioasaph Argyropoulos, Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, stating the boundaries between the Simonopetra and Pantokrator metochia in this vicinity was preserved by the Pantokrator archive until early in the 20th century[31]. The fluctuating fortunes of the St Charalampus metochi in Thessaloniki are related in two documents of 1752 and 1763.

The remaining documents in the Monastery archive concern a variety of affairs: two patriarchal *sigillia* of Grigorios V, issued in 1798, concern the founding of a plague hospital and an orphanage in Bucharest, two patriarchal letters of Parthenios IV, dating from 1785, deal with the vakıfnâme which the Monastery had lost, and there are also loan contracts, wills, and documents by which monks were inducted into the Monastery.

As can be seen from the description of documents given above, a considerable amount of archive material directly concerning Simonopetra has been preserved not in its archive but in those of other monasteries. When the archives of all the Athonite community are systematically investigated, Simonopetra's small collection of documents will undoubtedly be enriched.

Among the most important sources for the history of the Monastery are two archive codices known as Codex A and Codex B. Codex A is a record of the various events in the Monastery's history and its everyday affairs between 1620 and 1800: it covers the financial accounts of the monks who left Mt Athos to raise funds in various parts of the Orthodox East (these are called 'travellers reports'), the visits paid by Abbots to the Mihail-Voda metochi in Bucharest, replacements of sacristans and inventories of treasures and holy vessels. The Monastery's debts were entered up in detail, and the Codex also occasionally contains copies of documents which have not otherwise survived. Work on the preparation of Codex B, entitled *"Memorandum of the Sacred, Imperial and Patriarchal Monastery called Simonopetra"*, began in 1846, when the priest-monk Amvrosios was Abbot. Portions of Codex A were copied into it, but it also included fresh sets of details, such as a list of the items lost in the fire of 1891, a catalogue of holy relics and an inventory of the contents of the sacristy. Among the most important texts in the Codex is the *"Historical Description"* of the Monastery compiled by Abbot Neophytos in the late 19th century.

The massive modern archive covers the period from 1801 to 1950. These unbound documents are kept in files according to their year of issue and they refer to a wide range of administrative and financial matters concerning the Monastery and its metochia. Roughly speaking, each file contains: a) the correspondence between the Monastery and its representatives at the Holy Community, the wardens of the metochia and monks who had been assigned missions outside the Monastery; b) documents of a financial nature: annual balance sheets (*Inventories of Transactions*), the accounts of the metochia, debit bonds and bank accounts.

The special categories of document —such as the patriarchal epistles of the 19th and 20th centuries, documents concerning dependencies on Mt Athos and the title deeds of the metochia, even if they no longer belong to the Monastery— are not filed separately.

The numerous archive codices, which date back to 1847, contain some copies of correspondence but were principally used as account books (general or rough ledgers, annual accounts, records of purchases, inventories of clothing, the books relating to lay workmen and the accounts of the metochia).

The material to be found in the unbound documents and in the financial ledgers of the modern archive is of great value as a source for our knowledge of the recent history of the Monastery, and also for studies of various aspects of social and economic life in modern Greece.

The Turkish Documents

V. Dimitriadis

The significance of the Turkish documents kept in the archives of the Athonite monasteries has already been stressed in other publications[1]. However, very few publications of such documents or catalogues of the Turkish archives of the monasteries have so far seen the light[2]. This text is an attempt to provide a first record and a brief presentation of the contents of the Turkish documents kept by the Holy Simonopetra Monastery[3], in the hope that it will help to supplement the history of the Monastery[4].

The great fire of 11 December 1580 burned not only the Monastery's buildings and treasures,

but also its archives[5]. This loss is an impediment to any study of the foregoing period. The few Turkish documents from before the fire which are in the Monastery today are almost all from its *metochia* and must have been given into the safekeeping of the main Monastery, together with the more recent documents, at some unknown time.

Consequently, it is impossible for the time being to research the Monastery's relations with the Turkish authorities before the fire. This gap can be filled, to some extent, with the use of Turkish documents relating to general Athonite issues. A further possible source is that of the Turkish documents preserved by other monasteries which, at various times, had disputes with Simonopetra[6]. However, such documents would be those that favoured the other monasteries; there would be no reason for the monasteries to keep documents which were against their interests. All those which Simonopetra has preserved are in its favour.

The Turkish documents at Simonopetra are not numerous. This paucity must be the result not only of the fire of 1580, but also of the fact that the Monastery had few metochia. The total number of these documents amounts to about five hundred. Of these, approximately two hundred date from the late 19th century; they are mostly receipts of payments of tax, court decisions, documents from the Halkidiki Forestry Inspectorate and various printed items. They have not been used in this text.

The documents have been arranged by type and in chronological order[7]. This was preferred to a thematic division because of the limited number of documents. Furthermore, they were not found to be in any order whatever, and so it was not possible to restore them to an original classification.

The first category of document consists of 43 *firmans* or copies of firmans, the earliest dating back to mid Rebiyülevvel 989 (15/24.4.1581) and referring to the fire of 1580 (fig. 178), and the last dated 18 Sevval 1286 (21.1.1870).

The religious court decisions called *'hüccets'* number 110. The earliest is dated mid Rebiyülevvel 955 (20/29.4.1548) and the most recent was issued in 1285 (1868-1869). This category also includes a number of *'vakıfnâme'* - *'vakouflamades'*, as they were known to the Greeks of the time, the documents where all the monasteries' lands were recorded, together with their boundaries. The Monastery vakıfnâme, issued in 1569, disappeared for some time; when it was rediscovered —subsequent to missives from the Patriarchate and the Holy Synod urging the unknown parties who had abstracted it to return it to the Monastery[8]— the monks went to the trouble of making two copies, one of which was certified after 1780 (fig. 180). The original has not been found[9]. There are only nine orders from the Vizier (known as *'buyuruldu')*, dating from between 1 Rebiyülevvel 1207 (21.10.1792) and 17 Receb 1270 (15.4.1854).

Among the other types of document is the *süret-i defter*, copies of extracts from the *Hazine-i 'Amire,* the Imperial treasury. The Hazine-i 'Amire contained a record of all the state lands and also those which belonged to the various vakıfs: land or buildings dedicated to religious or charitable purposes, Muslim or Christian. It was forbidden to delete or correct the entries in the records kept in the Hazine-i 'Amire, and changes of any kind could only take place when a new ledger was being drawn up. The fourteen sürets showing the Monastery's lands at various times, with its privileges and obligations, are of the greatest value for its history. The earliest dates from early Zilkade 1015 (28.2/9.3.1607) and the most recent from 18 Safer 1287 (3 May 1870).

One type of document to be found in almost all the monasteries and many of their metochia is that of copies of the *ahdnâme,* the document which, according to tradition, the prophet Muhammad granted to the monks of Mt Sinai and on whose contents the rights of the monasteries were based. The use of these documents, written in Arabic or translated into Turkish and certified by a *kadi* (judge), must have spread among the monasteries of the Balkan peninsula after the conquest of Egypt by Selim I in 1517; their purpose was to inspire respect in Turks who happened to pass through the monasteries —a purpose in which they were not always successful. Simonopetra has two of these documents; they are most imposing, with their decoration, colours and illustrations. The most impressive feature of all is without doubt the hand-print (in green on one document (fig. 181) and in black on the other), which is supposedly the mark of the prophet Muhammad himself; considered to be an unlettered man,

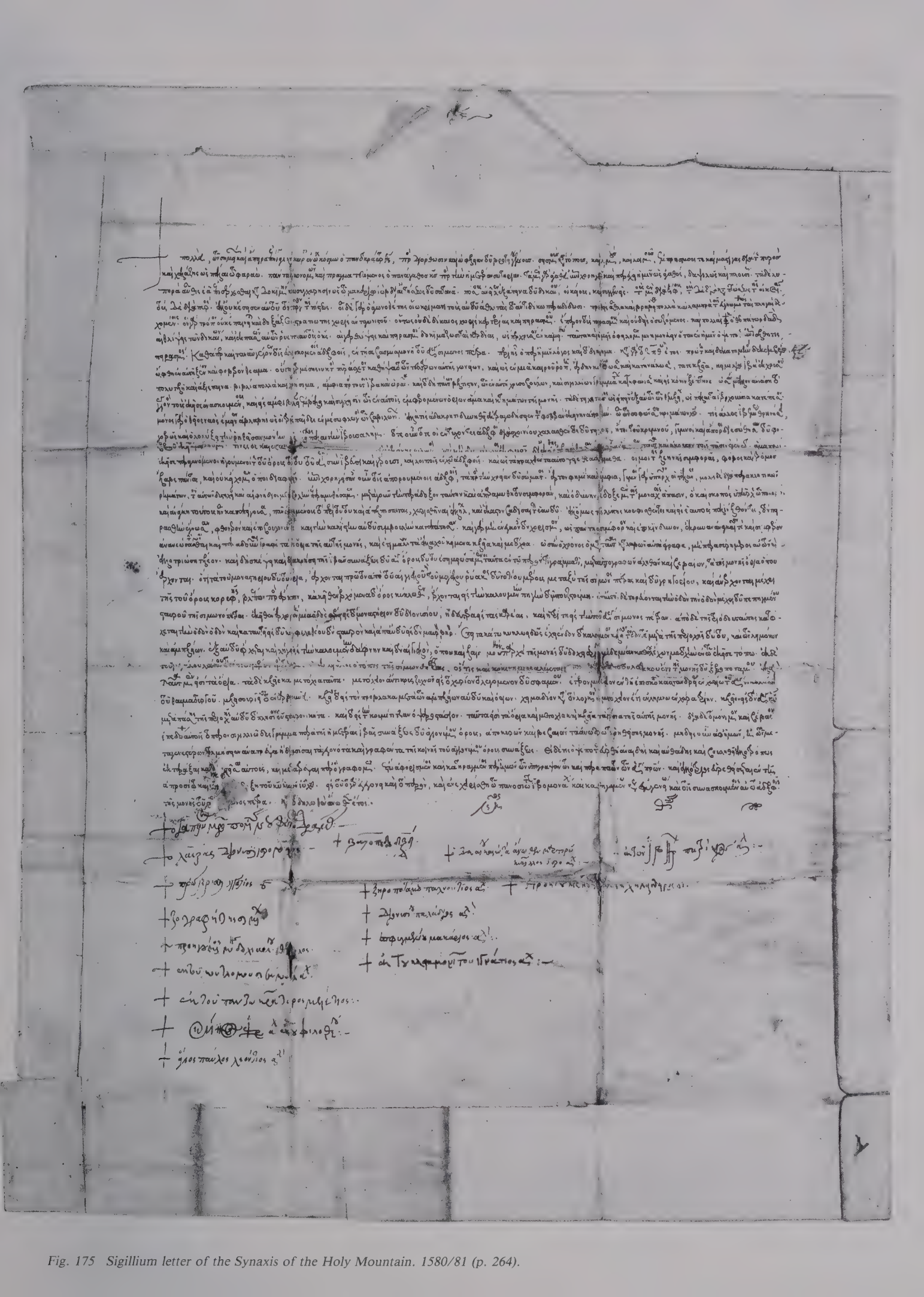

Fig. 175 Sigillium letter of the Synaxis of the Holy Mountain. 1580/81 (p. 264).

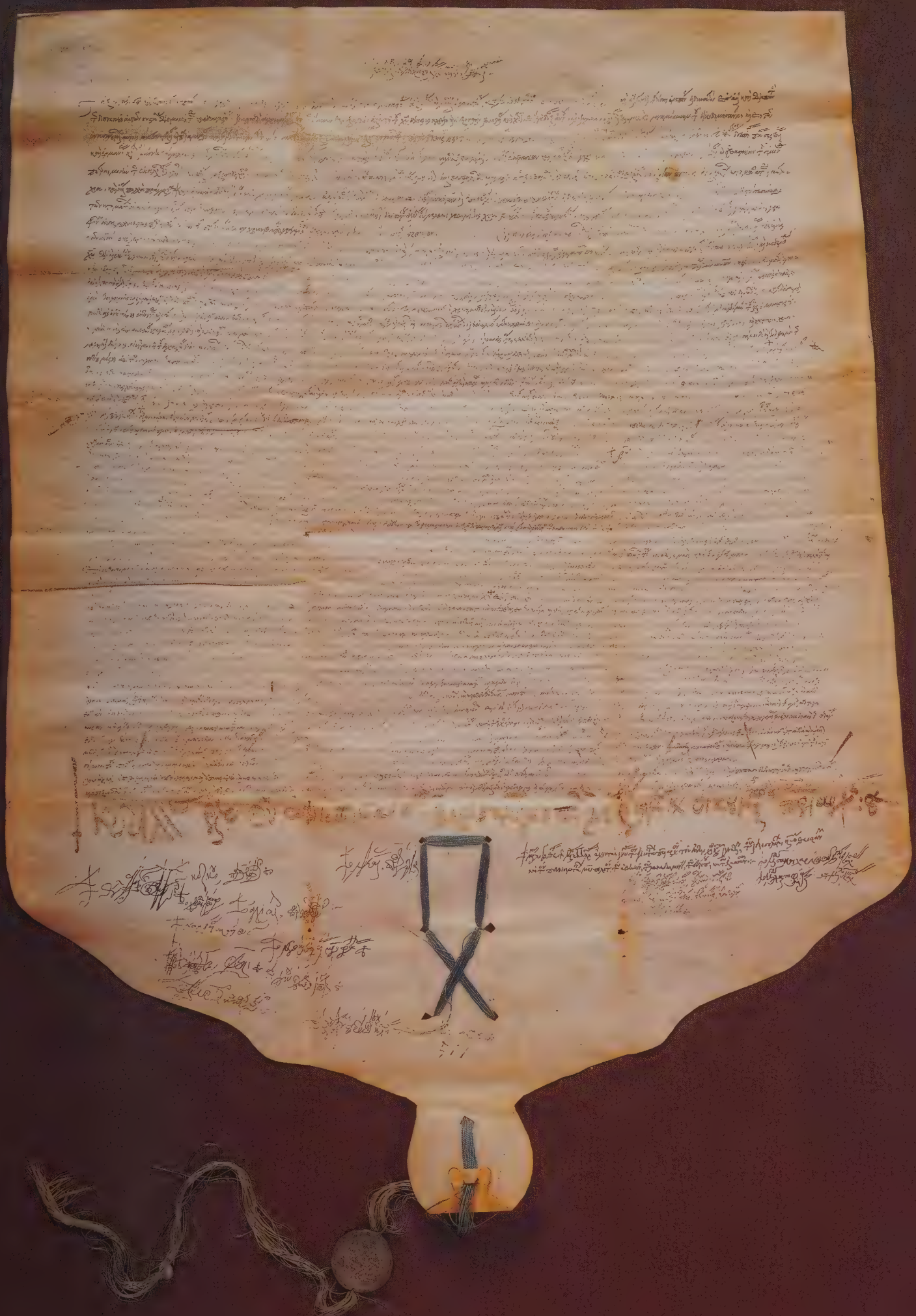

Fig. 176 *Sigillium letter of Ieremias II. May 1581 (p. 264).*

Fig. 177 *Synodal sigillium of Patriarch Cyril Lucaris. 1622/23 (p. 265).*

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Fig. 178 *Firman No. 1. In Rebiyülevvel 989/24 April 1581. Permit for the re-building of the Monastery after the fire of 11 December 1580 (p. 268).*

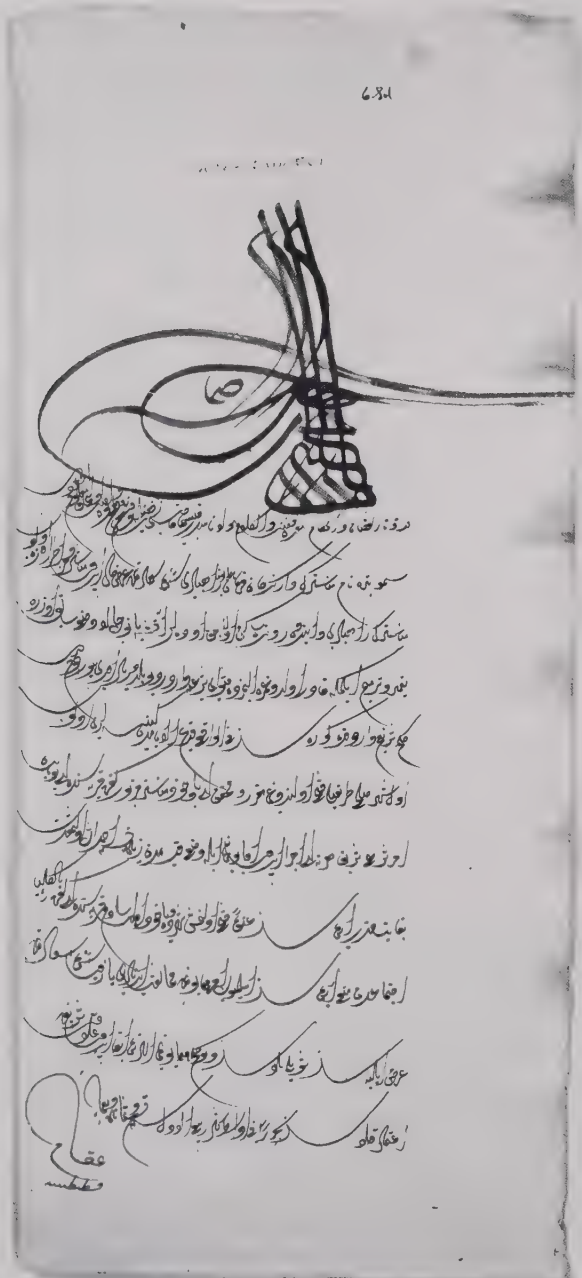
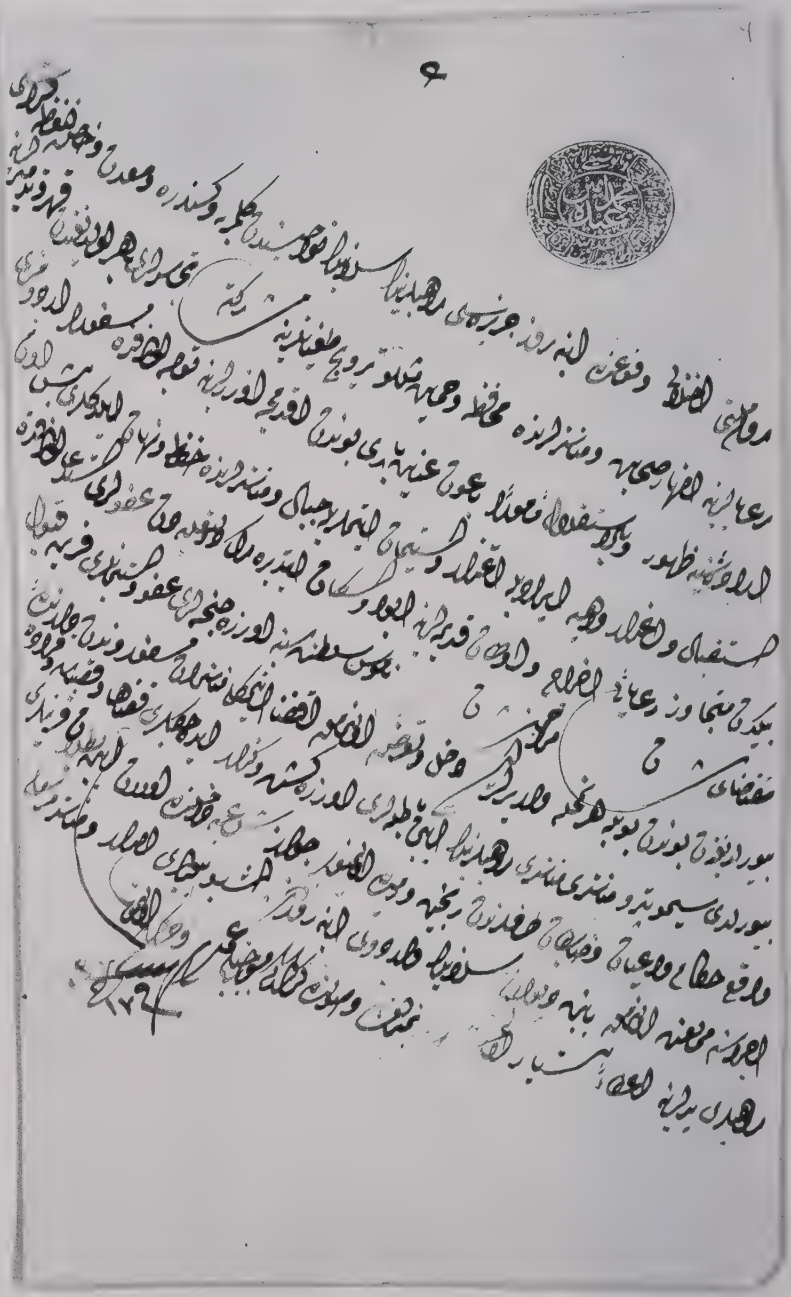


Fig. 179 *Order (buyurdi) of the Vali of Thessaloniki Mehmed Emin Ebu l-Lubut Pasa. 17 Cenaziü 'l-Ahir 1237/11 March 1822. 'Firman of forgiveness', granting an amnesty to the monks of the Monastery for their participation in the Uprising of 1821 and permitting their free movement.*



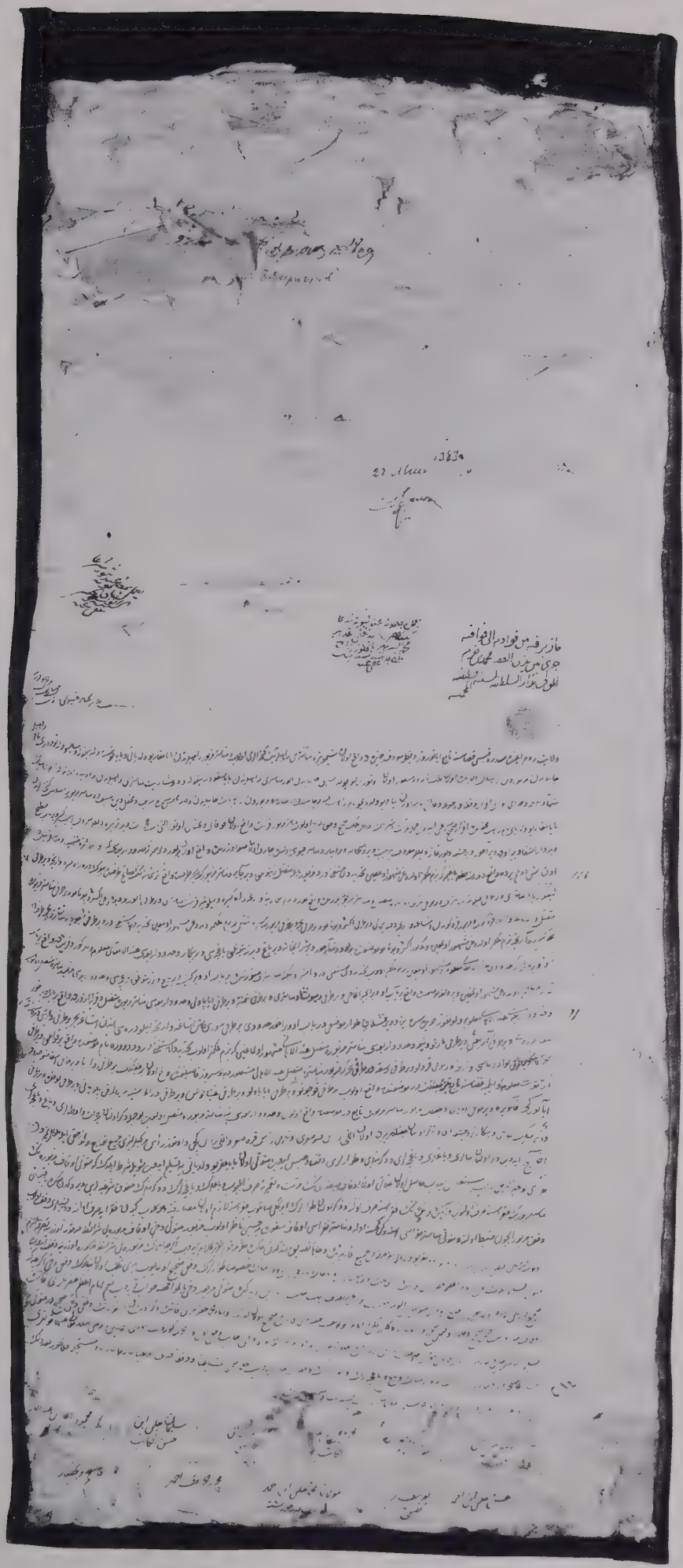


Fig. 180 Acknowledged copy of religious court decision (hüccet) No. 3. End of Ramazan 976/9-18 March 1569. The landed property of the Monastery is recognised (p. 268).

Fig. 181 Copy of ahdnâme No. 2. Circa 1242/1826-1827. Granting of privileges to the monks of the Sinai Monastery (p. 268).

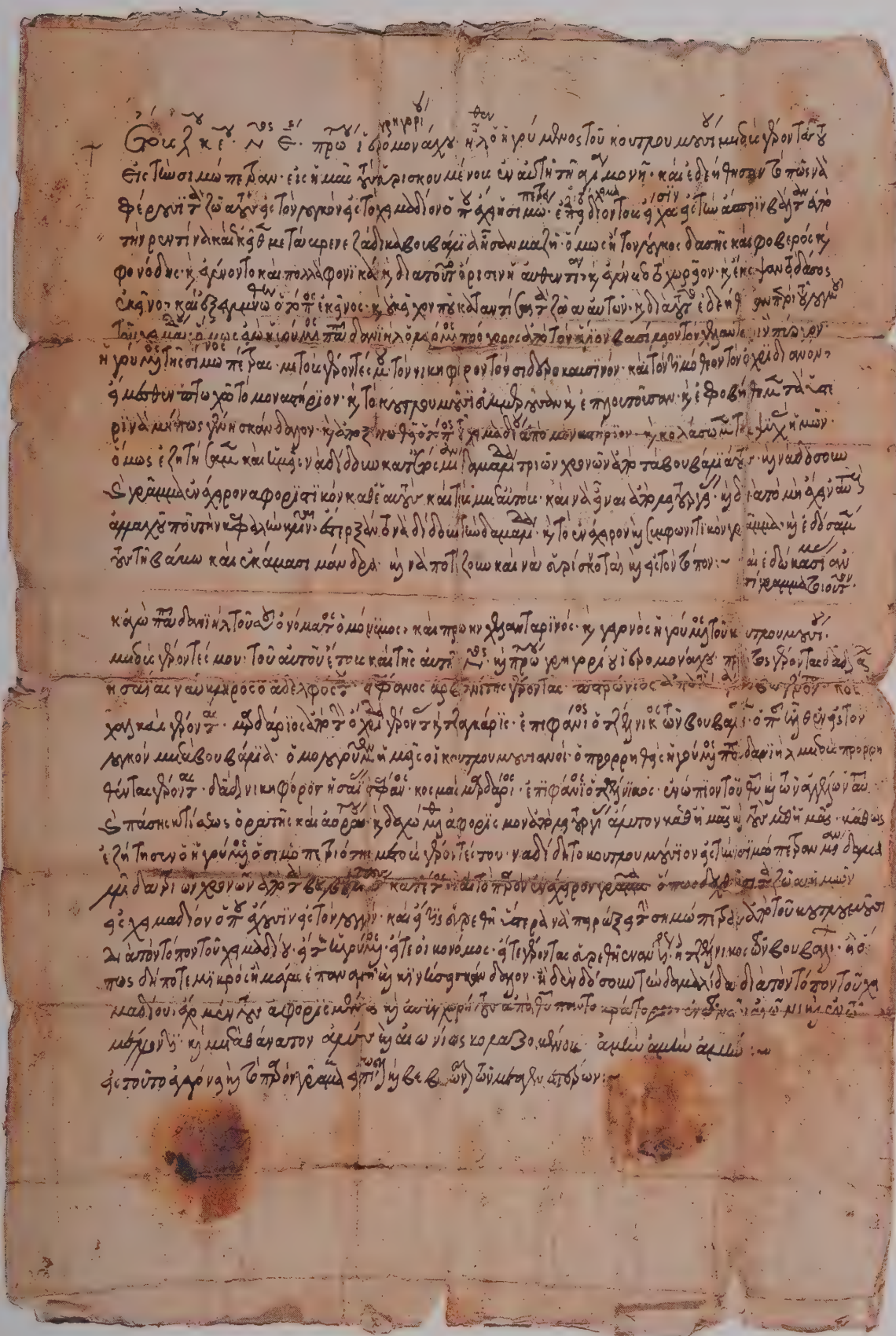


Fig. 182 Letter of agreement between the Monasteries of Simonopetra and Koutloumousiou. 1516/17 (p. 266).

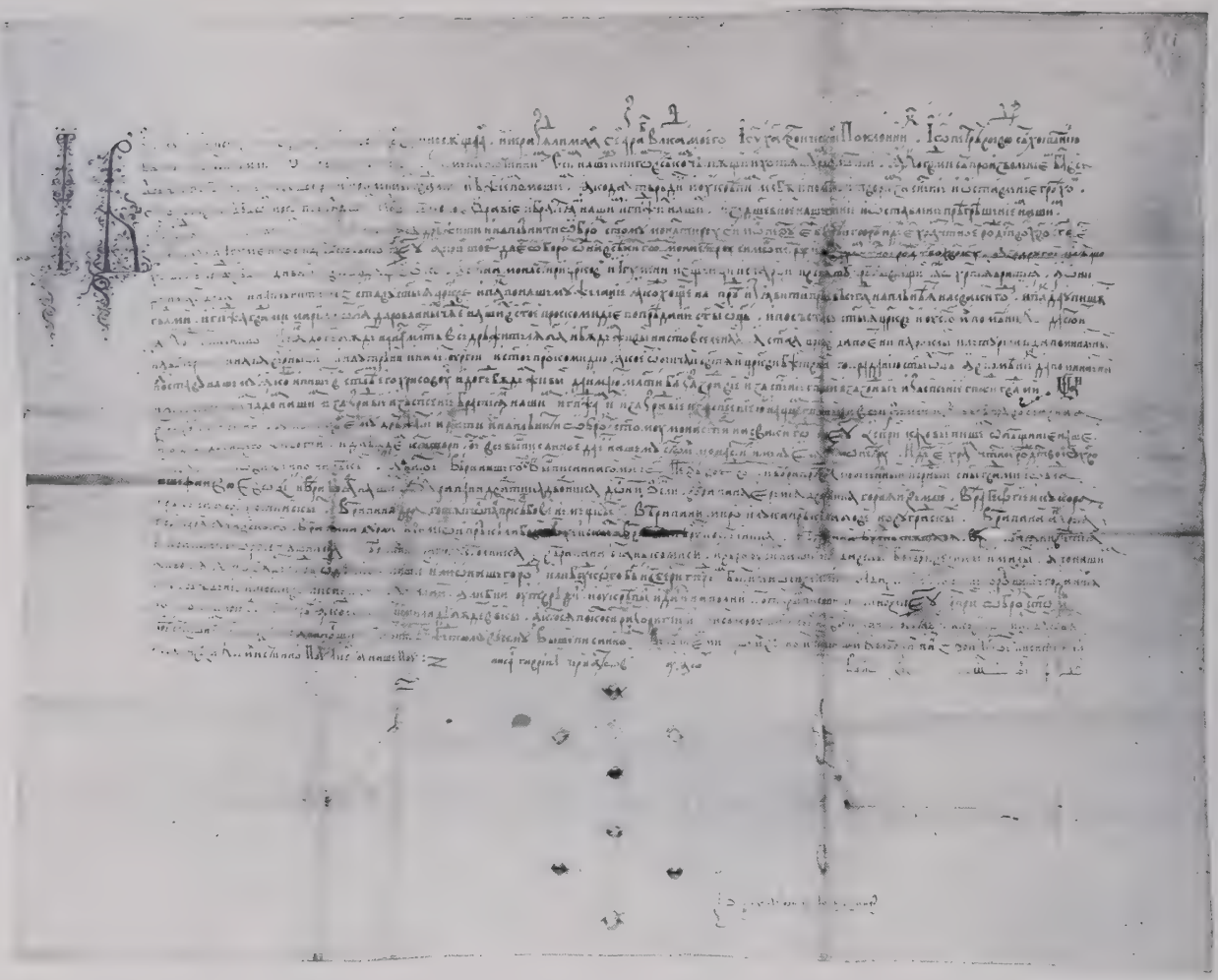


Fig. 183 Document of Peter the Lame of Moldavia. 9 February 1587. Parchment (p. 281).

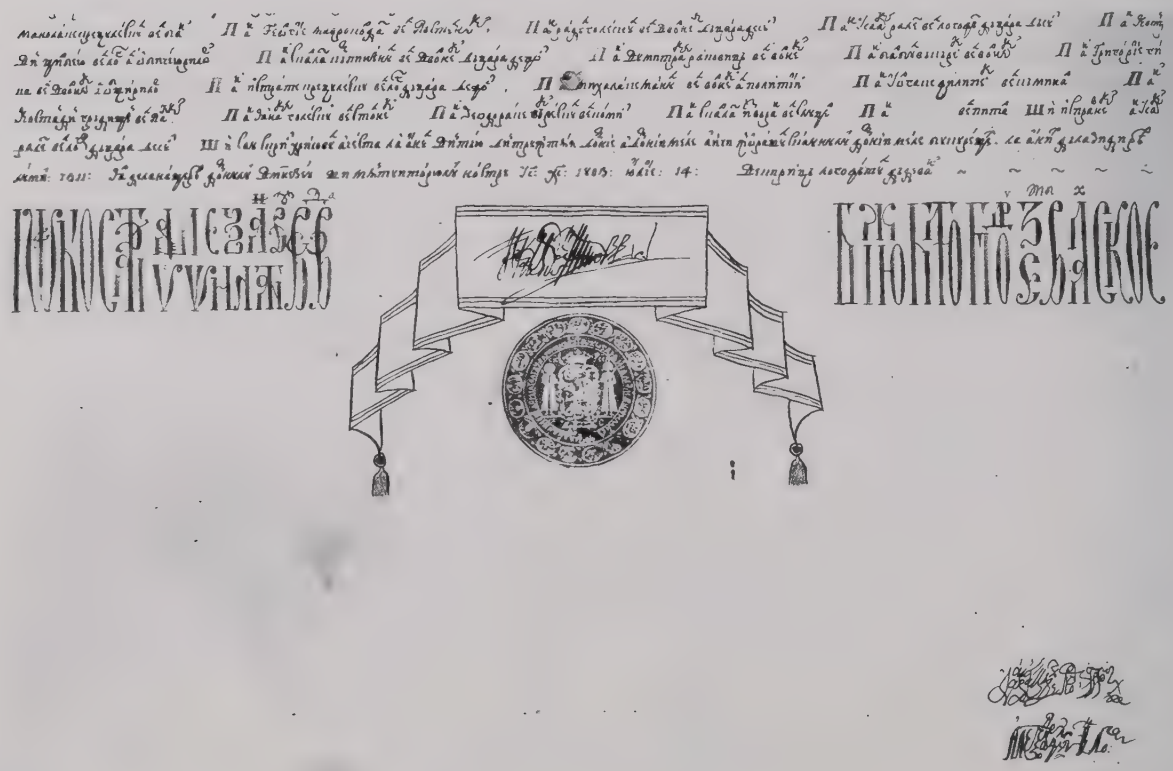


Fig. 184 Chrysobull of Constantine Ypsilantis. 14 July 1803. Detail with his signature and seal (p. 281).

he acknowledged documents by affixing the imprint of his palm. Internal evidence indicates that one of these documents was written after 1800/01 and the other after 1826/27.

The Simonopetra collection contains quite a number of *fetvas,* the adjudications of the legal experts of the Muslim world, the muftis. In order for a kadi to examine a case in accordance with *seri'at,* the sacred law of Islam, he would usually have to have the expert opinion of the mufti, to whom the case was referred in non-specific terms, without the names of the litigants. The Monastery has eighteen of these documents, which, since they are undated, are difficult to connect with the cases to which they referred. In rare cases, notes in Greek on a fetva allow the researcher to discover the reason for which it was issued.

Lastly, one hundred documents issued by various Ottoman state officials have been classed and recorded together. These include orders to subordinate officials, reports by junior to senior officials, receipts of payment of tax, title deeds, decisions settling the boundaries of monastery lands, applications submitted by monks, and documents of numerous other types. Sometimes documents of different categories are related to each other: for example, a hüccet might be issued to enforce the orders contained in a firman.

Regardless of their type, the issues around which the Turkish documents in Simonopetra revolve are similar to those to be found in the Turkish documents of all the other monasteries. The majority deal with issues connected with the management of the Monastery's metochia: purchases or dedications of land, certificates of payment of taxes, orders to various Ottoman officials not to demand payments of tax in excess of the lawful amounts, disputes between the Monastery and the inhabitants of neighbouring villages or the metochia of other monasteries, and the fixing of the boundaries of the Monastery's lands.

The number of permits for the repair of buildings or the erection of new structures in the Monastery itself or in the metochia is small, but such documents— usually in the form of firmans or hüccets - are of great importance for the history of the Monastery. Information about various incidents connected with the Monastery—such as shipwrecks in its vicinity, monks or other people beaten or injured, the embezzling of sums of money by various persons, compromises over financial disputes—can be drawn from quite a number of documents, mainly from hüccets. Some documents appear to have no direct connection with the Monastery, since it is not mentioned. Perhaps these were in the hands of men who later became monks; the monastic community, which has the good habit of never destroying documents no matter how unrelated to the Monastery they may be, would have kept such papers.

The Simonopetra metochi which is most frequently referred to in the documents is that at Vourvourou, near the village of Ayios Nikolaos, Halkidiki. Another large metochi, known as Petrotis or Petriotis, was situated near the village of Sykia, on the Longos or Sithonia peninsula. There was also a metochi by the same name on the Kassandra peninsula. The island of Lemnos had the important metochi of Trygi, while there were smaller metochia, mentioned in fewer documents, on Thasos, at Zichna[10] and at Ainos. No Turkish documents referring to the Siphnos metochi[11] have come to light.

The Thessaloniki metochi —that is, the church of St Charalampus and the buildings around it— is mentioned only in connection with a dispute which occurred in the mid 18th century. This metochi had come into the hands of the monks of Iveron as security for a debt Simonopetra owed their monastery. In March 1752, according to a Greek document, the monasteries reached a compromise solution and the metochi came back into the possession of Simonopetra[12]. However, a monk from Iveron who had settled there was unwilling to leave, and in March 1753 he had to be ordered to go by the kadi of Thessaloniki, and the metochi was to be returned to Simonopetra.

As we have already noted, the fire which swept through the Monastery in December 1580 is referred to in the earliest surviving firman, which orders an investigation as to whether the Monastery was entitled to a permit to rebuild. This firman was issued four months after the fire, in April 1581. In August of that year, a tribunal consisting of six serving or former kadis of Sidirokafsia and one kadi of Thessaloniki issued a decision approving the permit to reconstruct the Monastery according to the firman. This decision also tells of the surrender of Mt Athos when Thessaloniki was captured by Murat II in 1430, and of the recognition of the

property of the monasteries. We are further told that a record was made of the monastery lands when Selim II (1566-1574) ascended the throne; these lands were recognised as belonging to the monasteries, although only after payment of a sum of 14,000 gold pieces[13].

The fire must have had human victims, too, since a second firman issued at the same period forbids officials to demand that the monks should pay *'diya'*[14]. The surviving monks took refuge in the Xenophontos Monastery; in return for this hospitality, they made over their lands to the monks of Xenophontos, paying off an outstanding debt at the same time[15]. By October 1582, many of the monks of Simonopetra had returned to their Monastery to repair it, and those of Xenophontos agreed in a hüccet that a debt of 33,000 silver coins (akce) to a Jew of Thessaloniki was theirs and not that of the monks of Simonopetra.

Although by then nearly forty years had passed, it was necessary to issue a firman in 1619 forbidding state officials to interfere with the Monastery's lands with the fire as a pretext.

In 1622, the Monastery was damaged once more by fire, caused this time by lightning. A fresh decision of the tribunal of kadis, issued on 9 August of the same year, was required so that fresh repair work could begin[16].

The earliest document relating to the important Ayios Nikolaos metochi concerns the purchase of fields from the villagers in 1571. In 1575, the Monastery bought six threshing floors, and at later dates land was purchased on a number of occasions. Among the other documents are receipts for the payment of the *'maktu'* — a lump sum levy called a *kesimi* in Greek[17]. Most of the documents from this metochi concern the repeated disputes between the villagers of Ayios Nikolaos and the monks over trespassing; every so often, usually when grazing their herds, the villagers would enter the Monastery's property, particularly that at Vourvourou.

Around 1763 the monks of Simonopetra found themselves in difficult financial straits, and they applied to the Holy Council of Mt Athos for permission to sell their metochia at Kassandra, Ayios Nikolaos and Thessaloniki so as to pay off the Monastery's debts[18]. A copy of the Turkish translation of the document by which the seventeen monasteries of Mt Athos permitted the Simonopetra monks to sell the St Charalampus and St Nicholas metochia has survived. However, it is not clear whether the whole of the Ayios Nikolaos metochi was sold off or only a part of it, since there are later documents which still refer to land at Ayios Nikolaos belonging to the Monastery.

The Monastery's metochi on the Sithonia peninsula (which was also known as Longos) appears in Turkish papers as early as 1582; in that year, a document from the kadi of Thessaloniki contains the testimony of Jewish residents that the Monastery possessed grazing lands and water-buffaloes at Longos. Many of the documents relating to this metochi concern purchases of land and the fixing of its boundaries. The only dispute to have arisen with the villagers of nearby Sykia occurred in 1845, and was resolved by a firman which has not survived but to which reference is made in hüccets of the same year. The dispute grumbled on, however, and the last document to mention the Monastery's winter pastures near Sykia is a süret of 1869.

The metochi on the Kassandra peninsula is first mentioned in 1589, in a document from a palace door-keeper *(kapici)* recognising the Monastery's ownership of land at Kleisouri since the time before the Turkish conquest; however, in order to obtain this recognition, the monks were obliged to pay 4,000 silver coins (akce) as property transfer tax *(tapu resmi)*. The document also specifies the boundaries of the metochi, in detail. This document was ratified in March 1590 by a hüccet which reiterated the boundaries determined. In the same year a firman was issued forbidding anyone to interfere with the Monastery's metochi, and 1590 also saw the issuing of a document of proof by a proxy of Gazanfer Aga, whose vakıf the Kassandra peninsula then became[19]. Interference continued, however, and necessitated a further firman with the same content in 1619.

The boundaries of the metochi —and above all of the land which the monks had purchased— were questioned again in 1756. The problem was resolved by means of the testimony of Turks and Christians and by the documents which the monks presented. The management of the vakıfs was brought under a joint directorate in 1826, and in 1836 a civil servant was dispatched to Kassandra to make a record of the metochia. Old documents were presented and the villagers of Valta testified, and the Monastery's lands were recognised. Apart from these documents, other papers concern crop permits, tax receipts, the purchase of a house in Valta, a dispute with the

monks of Docheiariou over the boundaries of their metochia in Kassandra, disputes with the villagers, the ceding of a field by the *zabit* (state representative) in Kassandra, a ban on the grazing of animals on Monastery land and the issuing of a title deed *(sened)*.

The Trygi metochi on Lemnos was the only one of importance owned by the Monastery in any part of Greece outside Halkidiki. In 1557, the monks produced eleven documents proving that they had bought fields in various parts of the island, the earliest purchase taking place in 1540, and exchanged these documents for a hüccet[20]. However, in 1588 a Simonopetra monk sold all the movable and immovable property of the metochi to a Turk for 88,000 pieces of silver. We do not know the reason for this sale —perhaps the money was needed for the reconstruction of the Monastery after the fire of 1580— but in the end it does not seem to have taken place or to have been a legal fiction (that is, security for a loan), since two years later, in 1590, the metochi was in existence and paid tax. A firman of 1603 states that the metochi lands had been bought from the state forty or fifty years before, that the representatives of the state *(ehl-i orf)* were not entitled to interfere with them and that those which had been taken were to be returned to the Monastery. In 1645, a hüccet by which a Turk sold an estate to the Trygi metochi refers to it as the property of the Iveron Monastery; it can be inferred from existing documents that the metochi had belonged to Iveron since the mid 17th century and that part of it had been sold to a Turk at an unknown date. This was bought back in the late 18th century, at which point the metochi returned to the ownership of Simonopetra[21].

The metochi owned by the Monastery on the outskirts of Sfamenos, a village near Theologos, at Zichna, can be seen from a receipt for tithes of 1587 to have been a small one: the quantities of wheat and pulses which it paid in production tax in accordance with a hüccet of 1583 were negligible. This metochi is also mentioned in two firmans, one of 1603 and one of 1619, together with the others belonging to the Monastery. The documents referring to the Ainos metochi are no more numerous, and very few papers make any mention of the metochi on Thasos. The Turkish documents tell us nothing of the ultimate fate of these metochia; it is possible that the relevant documents have not survived, or that the Monastery lost the metochia as far back as Turkish times. There were also a number of small metochia in other places, of which the Monastery was unable to retain possession.

The disputes and problems relating to the Monastery's lands were not, however, confined to its metochia. Even on Mt Athos itself there was relatively frequent friction with the neighbouring monasteries. One of the worst disputes occurred in 1759 and concerned the Monastery's property at Garaz in the Pazar Yeri (marketplace) of Dafni, which the monks of Xeropotamou had occupied on the strength of a hüccet from Thessaloniki. The intervention of the Patriarch Serafeim secured the issuing of a süret specifying the property of the two monasteries at Dafni and approving a firman to be issued in this respect.

Before 1608, the monks of Docheiariou had laid claim to Simonopetra's olive grove at Dafni, a dispute which was solved by compromise in 1644, subsequent to the intervention of the Turkish authorities[22]. Two years later, however, the dispute was still smouldering and the monks of Simonopetra submitted another complaint against those of Docheiariou. When an on-the-spot investigation was held, they were able to prove with documents that they owned the disputed area. In the end, the two monasteries reached a compromise solution and the abbots of the other Athonite foundations stood guarantors of compliance with their agreement.

The monks of Simonopetra also fell out with Xeropotamou, over the Dontas *kelli*, which lay on the boundary between the two monasteries. Attempts were made first, in 1594, to resolve the dispute with the mediation only of the Holy Council of Mt Athos[23], but in 1614 the dispute was still raging, and a year later a firman was issued and the Holy Council attempted to intervene once more. Nonetheless, the monasteries were still at loggerheads in 1644[24].

Simonopetra and Xeropotamou also quarrelled over the ownership of the forest on Mt Jugo in 1757. Here, in the end, the Patriarch at Constantinople had to intervene, and it took a firman and a süret to stop the monks of Xeropotamou from trespassing.

The boundary with the neighbouring Gregoriou Monastery was the cause of a dispute in 1613[25]. Relations between the two monasteries worsened still further in 1632; this time the bone of contention was the water of the Potzoumi stream, which flowed between Simonopetra

and Gregoriou. Three firmans and a fetva were needed before Gregoriou allowed the water to flow along its former course.

There are quite a number of documents referring to minor incidents involving the Monastery and its monks, while some papers are of interest for the Athonite monasteries as a whole.

This brief presentation of the Turkish documents in the Simonopetra archive will have shown how limited their contents are. They consist solely of references to matters of property ownership, rights, tax relief and tax obligations, and they almost always concern the Monastery's financial difficulties and disputes. These documents give us a picture —a picture with very many gaps— of the Monastery's relations with the outside world. Nothing is said of the life of the monks inside the Monastery, which continues to be hidden and inaccessible to the outside observer. Nonetheless, despite their limited value, these Turkish documents do provide a very clear and sharp picture of the monks' struggle to keep their Monastery alive throughout the whole difficult period of Turkish rule, in the most adverse circumstances. These circumstances can be seen most vividly in an undated document with a translation of which we shall conclude this brief presentation of the Turkish archives of Simonopetra.

"So having prostrated ourselves in the very dust of the feet of the most illustrious and most renowned Aga [no name is given], we declare the following. You have sought of us pieces of silver. All that is produced here, but all and every morsel of grain and the other produce, you have confiscated. Two thousand measures of wheat you have taken as a tithe. All the crops you have taken. We sent word to our manciple: 'Send us corn', we said, and he replied, 'All the crops have been taken by His Excellency the Aga'. We, O Sultan, have already given the manciple two hundred and twenty piastres as a loan, and he has not so much as sent us two or three handfuls of wheat for seed. And furthermore, O Sultan, we have lent ten loads of pieces of silver to the metochi. The Sultan can imprison one man and release another. Let him imprison one of us. It is beyond our powers to give the loan. Any crops that there were, you have taken and we have no good of them. The metochi is ours in name, but its produce is all yours. Every year we take on a loan. Whatever is produced, you take. Take the metochi too; its produce belongs to our Sultan. Let the metochi be his also. Here we must make do with chestnuts. Thinking that the produce would be coming from the metochi, we poor wretches have taken on a loan. Our Sultan has taken the produce; let the metochi be our Sultan's also. We have no need even of our metochi. From this day forth we shall not need the metochi. It belongs to our Sultan. It is his to command.

The penniless wretches of Simopetra."

The Romanian Documents

D. Nastase

In the medieval Romanian lands, and particularly in the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, the monasteries enjoyed privileged treatment and economic support from the local Orthodox princes and the more prosperous classes of society. The benefactions of the princes, Romanians for the most part, were not confined to their own country alone; particularly after the Fall of Constantinople, they extended to all the regions in the hands of the Turks, to the Orthodox Patriarchates, to the Holy Land and to the great monastic centres. Among the latter, the Holy Mountain had an important place as a beneficiary; support to Athos became general after 1453 and continued until the 19th century[1]. The documents which established these gifts were carefully preserved in the archives of the Athonite monasteries and today can supply a wealth of information for a study of the development of relations between Romania and the Holy Mountain and of Romanian-Greek relations generally. Moreover, in a number of Athonite monasteries the earlier archives of Romanian monasteries which were dedicated to them as their *metochia* are also preserved. These documents are important sources

for Romanian history and often provide valuable insights into the presence and activities of the Greek element in the Danubian principalities.

For more than four centuries, through their constant support to the Holy Mountain, the princes and voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia, Romanians in the beginning and later Phanariot Greeks, carried on the work of the Byzantine emperors, the founders and guardians of the monasteries of Athos[2]. The Athonite community, Pan-Orthodox and multi-national, was the living symbol of the universal 'Christian Empire', in which the Byzantine emperors theoretically continued to hold sway (Nastase, 1982, 1983a, 1985). In undertaking their task as re-founders and protectors of the Athonite community, these princes, local or Greek, cast themselves in the role of the legitimate successors to the authority of the 'Christian emperors' of the East among the Orthodox peoples under Turkish rule and founded their resistance to the Ottoman conqueror upon this ideological basis. Their generosity and constant aid to the Holy Mountain had this as a basic motive (Nastase, 1976, 17-18, 24, 35-36).

The Romanian documents in the Simonopetra Monastery make a substantive contribution to the study of all these issues and make up the first Romanian archive of an Athonite monastery to have been systematically studied and to have its inventory published (Nastase, 1983b, Nastase – Marinescu, 1987). The research involved has started a new chapter in the study of the Athonite archives and has opened up a new path which is already being pursued.

Until the 17th century, the official language of Romanian literature and the Church was Slavonic, but from the 16th the Romanian language was already being used in various kinds of texts and had begun to make its appearance in documents. Gradually its use in official writings increased and by the second half of the 17th century it had effectively replaced Slavonic. The Cyrillic alphabet, however, continued to be the official script of the Romanian language down to the 19th century. In parallel with Slavonic and Romanian, Greek was also used in certain cases for the drafting of documents[3].

Almost 800 Romanian documents are preserved at Simonopetra. In the case of most of these there are also copies, summaries and translations —into Romanian (from Slavonic), French or, sometimes, Greek, which brings the total up to more than 1,500 items. Many of these are to be found in a manuscript codex of 1775.

All the documents originate in Wallachia, with the single exception of a wax-sealed bull (1587) of Prince Peter the Lame of Moldavia (fig. 183). The oldest dates from 1433 and the most recent from 1848. Some 600 documents are in the original; 84 are parchments and the rest on paper. In their extant form, 146 are in Slavonic and the rest in Romanian, with a few in Greek. Not included in these figures are another 130 Greek documents which have been photographed but have not yet been studied (Nastase, 1983b, 178). Of the rest, most are with wax seals and issued by a total of 56 voivodes. Of particular value are the seven documents of the 15th century, all issued by princes and as yet unpublished, originating with Alexander Aldea (1431-1436), Vlad Dracul (1436-1442, 1443-1447), Vladislav II (1447-1456, with one interruption), Radu the Fair (1462-1475, with interruptions), Bassarab Laiotă (1473-1476, with interruptions), Bassarab the Young (1477-1481/82) and Radu the Great (1495-1508). The prince who issued the most documents, 32 in number, was Matthew Bassarab (1632-1654); next is Mihnea II (1577-1583, 1585-1591) with 25, and his father, Alexander II Mircea with 22. There are 11 documents which originated with Michael the Brave, the Monastery's most important benefactor. 'The age of the Phanariots' is represented in the archive by the documents of 17 princes, the most numerous, 12, being those of Gregory II Ghikas (Wallachia, 1733-1735, 1748-1752) (figs 184, 185, 187). By a deed from Moldavia (Nastase – Marinescu, 1987, 29, No. 79) on 9 February 1587, the voivode Peter the Lame ensured an annual grant for the Monastery.

Two Patriarchs of Constantinople of the second half of the 17th century, Parthenios IV and Dionysios IV, Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem (1669-1707) and Kallinikos, "Archbishop of Pecs and Patriarch of All the Serbs and Bulgars" (1691-1710) are each signatories of a single document. Other documents bear the signatures of distinguished metropolitans of Hungro-Wallachia: Romanians such as Stephen (1648-1653, 1655-1668) or Greeks such as Luke of Cyprus (1602-1629) (see also below) and Neophytos of Crete (1738-1753). Also of importance are the documents issued by the municipal authorities of Bucharest (of which eight are of the 16th century) and the earlier examples of the large number of contracts which the archive contains.

The greater part of the material concerns the property of the Monastery and its metochia in Wallachia. The most important of the latter was the Monastery of St Nicholas near Bucha-

rest. The monks of Simonopetra acquired this, together with its property, from its founders, Gheorma, from Pogoniani in Epirus, and his wife Caplea, who was a member of a noble Romanian family. Gheorma was Great Postelnik of Wallachia (1564-1588), and some sources describe him as Great Ban (Stoicescu, 1971, 60, Nasturel, 1987, 227-229). This metochi, originally known as the Caplea Monastery, was a little later to acquire great importance, when its protection was taken over, as its new proprietor, by the future Prince of Wallachia Michael the Brave (1593-1601). The Monastery took his name, as the Mihail-Voda Monastery, which it was thereafter to keep. Son of a Greek mother and —as he claimed— of Petrascu the Good, Prince of Wallachia (1554-1557), Michael is said to have been a relative of the contemporary Cantacuzenes of Constantinople (Andreescu, 1988, 187-198). As Prince, he achieved the unification —even if short-lived— of the three principalities, Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia, inhabited by Romanians. His name is extolled in Greek folk poetry, particularly for his acts of bravery against the Turks, which once inspired hopes among leading Greeks that "our Michael-bey" would one day reign in a liberated Constantinople.

It is of this 'imperial' identity of Michael the Brave that his 11 documents in the Simonopetra Monastery speak, symbolically — particularly the 'proprietorial' chrysobull of 28 August 1599 (Nastase – Marinescu, 1987, 36, No. 115), in which he ratifies the status of the Romanian monastery of St Nicholas, with its property, as a metochi of Simonopetra.

This chrysobull was known only from a Greek translation, based on a later Romanian version of the Slavonic original, which was thought to have been lost, but which, happily, is in the Monastery's archives (fig. 186). A study of this reveals that Michael issued it in the context of the preparations which he was making for the conquest of Transylvania (October 1599). The purpose of this chrysobull was to ensure the support of the Athonite monks for his plans, as it cast him in the role of defender of Orthodoxy against the 'Latin' Prince of Transylvania, Cardinal Andrew Báthory, and the Emperor Rudolph II and, at the same time, of the successor to the Byzantine emperors who had been benefactors of the Holy Mountain. In this document, he used, instead of the official coat-of-arms of Wallachia, a symbolic decorative device of vegetal appearance, which is none other than a disguised double-headed eagle (fig. 284), to lend emphasis to these ambitions (Nastase, 1986).

During the opening decades of the 17th century, the Monastery acquired two more metochia in Wallachia. One was the Izvorani skete in the Prefecture of Buzău, the gift, together with its considerable landed property, of its proprietor, the brilliant calligrapher Luke of Cyprus, Metropolitan of Hungro-Wallachia. There are three documents of his in the archive, dating from 1614, 1624 and 1626 (Nastase – Marinescu 41, 47, 49, Nos 146, 172, 187). The last of these concerns the other metochi, the Bolintin Monastery, given to Simonopetra on 8 March 1626 by Prince Alexander Coconul, as we learn from his own Slavonic chrysobull, preserved in the original (*op. cit.* 49, No. 184). The documents in the archive from that time down to the 19th century concern these three metochia and their property in Wallachia generally. Of these, the material concerning the Bolintin Monastery stands out for its interest. Of particular importance are the earlier documents of this monastery, dating from before its donation to Simonopetra, in whose archives they are preserved; these go back to the 15th century. Three of these pre-date the Fall of Constantinople, while the last of them was issued by Prince Vladislav II on 29 April 6961 (1453), exactly one month before that stupendous event. This is the earliest known document in which a Prince of Wallachia claims to rule over an empire, a claim which is repeated in many Wallachian chrysobulls. The oldest of all the Romanian documents in the Monastery—the chrysobull of 15 March 1433 of Alexander Aldea (Nastase – Marinescu, 1987, 15, No. 1), proves that the Bolintin Monastery enjoyed the benefactions of the ancestors of this Prince from the time of the dynasty of Bassarab I (c. 1310-1352), the first independent ruler of Wallachia.

The discovery and study of the primary material in the Monastery's Romanian archive leads the way into a new and extensive field of research: the study of the Romanian documents of the Holy Mountain as a whole.

The Inscriptions

A. Markopoulos

Inscriptions always provide evidence different from that furnished by the formal literary source. Whether engraved, embossed or, quite simply, written on stone, wood or other material, they have a strongly 'personal' character, as they extol or commit to eternity joy or death, triumph or defeat, expectation or hope. Very few official inscriptions have survived from the Byzantine period, since the spread of the use of papyrus, initially, and parchment, later, outsted inscriptions from the public administration of the Empire[1]. However, a large number of funerary inscriptions and even more from buildings have come down to us; these provide eloquently, and usually with all the flourishes of rhetoric, valuable information[2].

Moreover, the Byzantine and the post-Byzantine world left to its descendants an impressive number of inscriptions engraved on various objects such as jewellery, caskets, sacred vessels[3], and so on, which give a wealth of information about artists, patrons, donors, guilds —and the ordinary faithful[4].

The monasteries of Mt Athos provide the study of Byzantine and, particularly, post-Byzantine inscriptions with a wealth of material; the dedicatory inscriptions frequently cover chronologically the successive periods of building of the monasteries, while their sacristies contain many gifts bearing inscriptions. Millet, Pargoire and Petit published, in 1904, 570 such inscriptions from 12 Athonite monasteries and the Protaton. In the preface to their work, they state that a second volume, dealing with the rest of the monasteries, and a supplement are to follow —a promise which was never fulfilled. Up to the present, a complete inventory of the material which exists on the Holy Mountain has never been undertaken.

Simonopetra was one of the Athonite monasteries included by the French scholars in their publication, which quoted fifteen inscriptions from the Monastery: five from the *katholikon*, three from the refectory, five from reliquaries, one from the shrine and one, the oldest (dating from 1567), from the tower of the *arsanas*[5]. Here it should be noted that six of these inscriptions are derived from indirect testimony (Uspenskij, Smyrnakis) and were not found by the French authors in the Monastery[6]. Systematic research at Simonopetra has now produced a totally different picture: the inscriptions number 278 and cover the period from 1567 to 1913, the year in which the rebuilding of the Monastery was completed. Of these, 227 are in Greek, 17 in other languages and 34, mostly in Greek, are undated. This epigraphical corpus must be increased by 30 if the inscriptions of the Monastery's dependencies outside the Holy Mountain are added. It is likely also that others exist which have not yet come to light.

This new material has significantly enriched our knowledge of the Monastery's history[7]. The main bulk of the Simonopetra inscriptions are, as in the case of the other monasteries of Athos, of the post-Byzantine period. It is typical that the stagnation which overwhelmed the Turkish-dominated Greek world in the years following the Fall of Constantinople is reflected in the paucity of the inscriptions —15 in number— which date from the 16th and 17th centuries. The recovery which followed is also evidenced in the inscriptions: 38 from the 18th century and 142 from the 19th, a period of great vitality both for the Monastery and for Athos as a whole.

If we leave aside the building inscriptions of Simonopetra, which make up 16% of the total, the overwhelming majority of the rest are on treasures of the Monastery, which are often of high aesthetic value.

The history which the inscriptions serve to illustrate is a 'history of manners' and, not necessarily, of events. The artist, the patron or the donor (the distinction between them is, anyway, often blurred) does not conceal his linguistic inarticulacy or his emotions. There are more than a few instances such as no. 239 (undated, in relief on the reverse of a silver amulet with a representation of St John the Divine and Prochorus):+ΕΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΤΙΜΙ//ΟΝ ΞΥΛΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΗC // CIMΩΠΕΤΡΑC *(This piece of the True Cross belongs to Simopetra [sic])*, a declaration of ownership without any other historical detail, or no. 34, engraved on the sides of a silver reliquary of St Anne: +1772 ΜΕΡΟC ΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC ΑΝ[ΝΗC] ΤΙC CIMO ΠΕΤΡΑ *(Part of St Anne of Simopetra)*, where the only feature of historical interest is the date and the statement of ownership. There are, however, diametrically opposite cases, such as that of the old Russian icon with three inscriptions: the first (No. 2a) is engraved on the upper edge of the sheathing

and gives the date when it was made: ΗCΤΟΡΗΘΙ · ΗΥΚΟΝΑ · ΕΤΟC · 1620 *(The icon was painted in the year 1620).*

The second inscription (no. 2b), also engraved on the frame on the lower part of the sheathing, commemorates the donor: Ι · ΠΑΡΟΥCΑ · ΙΚΟΝΑ · ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΜΟΝΑCΤΙΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ CΙΜΟΝΟC // ΠΕΤΡΑC · ΕΝΓΚΟCΜΙ//ΘΙ · ΔΙΕΞΟΔΟΝ · ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΟCΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΗ-ΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΙC // ΑΥΤΙC ΜΟΝΙC // ΚΕΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ · ΑΓΙΟΥ · ΗΡΑΚΛΙΑC · ΚΙΡΙΟΥ · ΚΙΡ · ΙΩΑΚΙΜ · 1776 *(The present icon of the Holy Monastery of Simonos Petras was adorned at the expense of the most venerable holy Abbot of the Monastery and holy Archimandrite [of the Metropolis] of Herakleia dominus dom. Ioakeim 1776).*

The third inscription (no. 2c), written in black ink on the reverse of the icon, tells us of the donor of the treasure: "Θ[εοτο]κίον τοῦ Προκοπίου // καί προηγουμένου // ἔτους 1625 ἐρχόμε-νος ἐκ μοσχοβίας ἐπροσιλόθη // παρεμοῦ τοῦ ἀρσενίου ἱερομονάχου // τό παρόν Θεοτοκίον τῆς ὁδηγητρίας τό καθολικόν // τῆς τοῦ σίμωνος πέτρας-" *(An icon of Our Lady of Prokopios. Last year, in 1625, coming from Muscovy, the present icon of the Our Lady Hodegetria was dedicated by me, the priest-monk Arsenios, in the katholikon of Simonopetra).*

Apart from the individual donors, the dedications to Simonopetra of the members of guilds are often of particular interest. For example, the head of St Modest, which is enclosed in a silver reliquary of an excellent artistic standard, bears a lengthy inscription which mentions the *rufet* (guild) of *fermeletzides* (tailors): ΔΙΑ CΙΝΔΡΟΜΗC ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΟCΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΑΠΑΚΥΡ ΔΙΟΝΗCΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΠΑΝΟΙC ΤΟΥ // ΕΥCΕΒΟΥC ΡΟΥΦΕΤΙΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΦΕΡΜΕΛΕΤΖΙΔΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΟ ΓΑΛΑΤΑ ΤΙC ΠΟΛΕΩC ΚΑΙ // ΤΟΝ ΕΥCΕΒΩΝ ΧΡΙCΤΙΑΝΟΝ ΓΕΟΡΓΙΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΟCΙΟΥ Π[ΑΤΡΟ]C Τ[ΟΥ] // ΝΗΚΟΛΑΟΥ Π[ΑΤΡΟ]C Τ[ΟΥ] ΓΡΙΓΟΡΙΟΥ ΔΙΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΑΚΥ ΜΙΧΑΙΛ ϚΟΗΚΟΦΟΤΑΚΥ // ΚΟϚΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΑΝΑCΤΑCΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ Τ[Ω]Ν Γ[ΟΝΕΩ]Ν Α[Υ]Τ[Ω]Ν 1805 ΚΟCΤΑΝ-ΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΙ (no. 60) *(By the aid of the most venerable priest dominus Dionysios and at the expense of the devout guild of tailors of Galatas in Constantinople and of the devout Christians Yeorgios son of Ioannis Theodosiou father of Nikolaos father of Grigorios Dimitrios Vasilakis Michail Stoikofotakis Constantinos Anastatios and their parents, Constantinople 1805).*

Apart from the fermeletzides, Thanasis of the guild of *gimitzides* (sailors) dedicated a copper pan which is currently kept in the Monastery smithy (no. 71): ΑΥΦΙΕΡΟCΙ Ο ΘΑΝΑCΙC ΙΟC ΔΙΜΙΤΡΙΟΥ ΡΟΦΕΤΙ ΓΙΜΙΤΖΙΔΟΝ + 1824 ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΥ 28 *(Dedication of Thanasis son of Dimitrios of the guild of gimitzides + 1824 28 January).*

Craftsmen (painters, embroiderers, goldsmiths, etc.) are easy to identify when they sign their works, because the form of their signature follows medieval models known to us from inscriptions which have been published. Thus, for example: Θ[ΕΟ]Υ ΤΟ ΔΟΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ Κ[ΑΛ]ΛΙΝ[Ι]ΚΟ̃ ΠΟΝΟC *(The gift of God and the labour of Kallinikos)* is embroidered on a *pyle* of the year 1627 (no. 3), one of the best-known treasures in Simonopetra.

"Διά χειρός Ἀναστασΐου Τοῦ σουγδουρί τοῦ ἐξ ιωανι[νων]" *(By the hand of Anastasios Sougdouris of Ioannina)* is the inscription engraved, *inter alia*, on the back of a gilt Gospel cover (no. 6/1671), ΔΙΑ ΧΙΡΟ̃C ΠΑΡΘΕΝΗΟ̃ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟ̃ *(By the hand of Parthenios priest and monk)* on an antimension of the year 1840 (no. 82), ΦΙΛΙΠΟC ΣΥΜΟΠΕΤΡΙΤΗ 1864 ΑΠΡΙ-ΛΙΟΥ 8, *(Filippos of Simopetra 1864 8 April)* on the base of a brass condelabrum, today in the smithy (no. 126), and "1852 χείρ Νικηφόρου", *(1852, by the hand of Nikiforos)* written in white on the left side of an icon of St Demetrius (no. 99).

However, given the number of treasures kept in the Monastery, the number of those signed by craftsmen is very small. By way of contrast, there is a wealth of inscriptions giving the names of donors which, as a rule, follow additional expressions of the type "at the expense of" (nos. 26, 29, 30, 36, 46, etc.), "by the aid of" (nos. 31, 64, 103, etc.) or "by the munificence of" (nos. 49, 68, 69, 154, 175, 176, etc.). Some of the inscriptions in this category are lengthy and supply important historical information, such as the following, engraved on the front vertical rim of the rich binding of a Gospel: ΤΟ ΠΑΡΟΝ ΕΓΙΝΕ ΔΙΑ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗC ΕΥΛΟΓΙΟΥ Σ[Ι]Μ[ΩΝΟΠΕΤΡΙΤΟΥ] ΔΙΑ ΤΟ // ΕΝ ΒΟΥΚΟΥΡΕCΤΙΩ // ΜΟΝΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΒΟΔΑ ΕΝ ΒΙΕΝΝΗΙ // ΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΥ 1855 ΚΑΙ // ΠΑΡΕΠΕΜΦΘΗ ΕΙC ΤΗΝ Ι[ΕΡΑΝ] Μ[ΟΝΗΝ] ΣΙΜΩΝΟC // ΠΕΤΡΑC (no. 103). *(This was fashioned by the aid of Evlogios of Simonopetra for the Monastery of Michail Voda in Bucharest Vienna April 1855 and was dispatched to the Holy Monastery of Simonopetra).*

In other cases, extreme brevity is the rule: ΔΗΑ CΙΨΤΡΟΜΗΨ ΤΟ̃ ΚΑΘΙΓΟ̃ΜΕΝ[ΟΥ] ΚΑΛΙΝΗ-ΚΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΜ[ΟΝΑΧΟΥ] 1812 // ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ ΧΡΙCΟΠΟΔΑΡΟΥCΑ ΝΕΖΕΡ (no. 64/1812) *(By the aid*

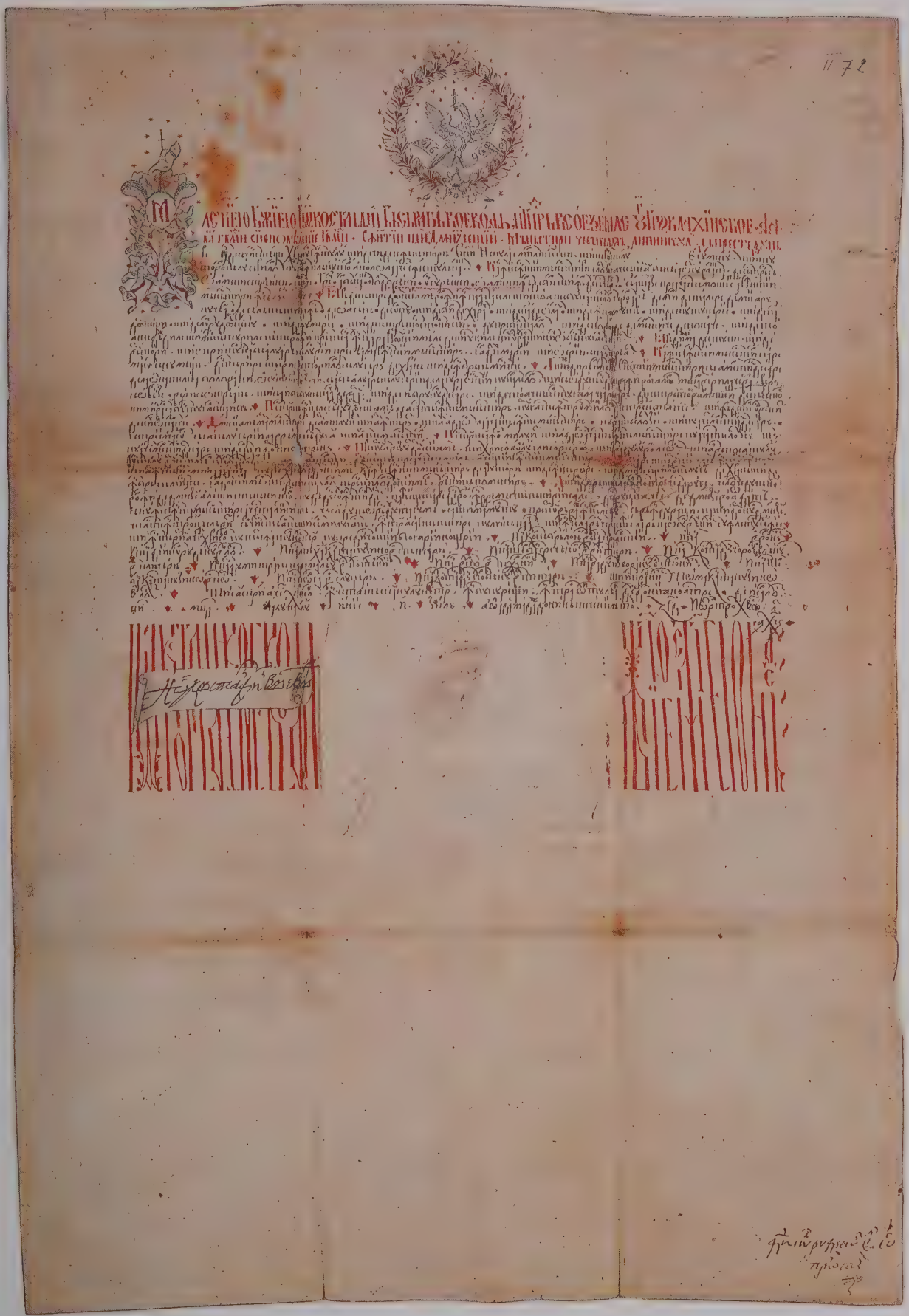


Fig. 185 Chrysobull of Constantine Brancovan. 8 June 1696. Parchment (p. 281).

Fig. 186 *Founder's chrysobull of Michael the Brave. 28 August 1599. Parchment (p. 282).*

Fig. 187 *Chrysobull of Gregory I Ghika. 20 March 1663. Parchment (p. 281).*

Fig. 188 Order of service for St George the Martyr. 19th century. Ms. No. 25, f. 1 (p. 299).
←

Fig. 189 Evangelistarion (collection of liturgical Gospels for the day) of the sacristy. 1629. Miniature of St Matthew the Evangelist, f. 42$^{v.}$

Fig. 190 Evangelistarion of the sacristy. 1629. Miniature of St John the Evangelist, f.1^{v}.

Γ΄
ΟΔ
ΜΑΚΟ-
Σ

ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΥ ΕΚΤΗ

κατὰ μάρκ. β΄ ιε΄.

Ὦ καιρῷ ὑστερεῖ
τὸ ὑῑς τοῖς σάββασι μὲ ἔξω
τῶν ὁρίων καὶ ἤρξαντο σπεί
ρειν τὰς ἀστάχυας καὶ ἔλεγον
πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ φαρισαῖοι
οἱ ἐμοὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ τί ποιοῦσιν ὃ μ

Fig. 191 *Evangelistarion of the sacristy. 1629. Miniature of St Mark the Evangelist, f. 126^{v}.*

Fig. 192 *Evangelistarion of the sacristy. 1629. Heading at the beginning of the Gospel according to Mark, f. 127.*

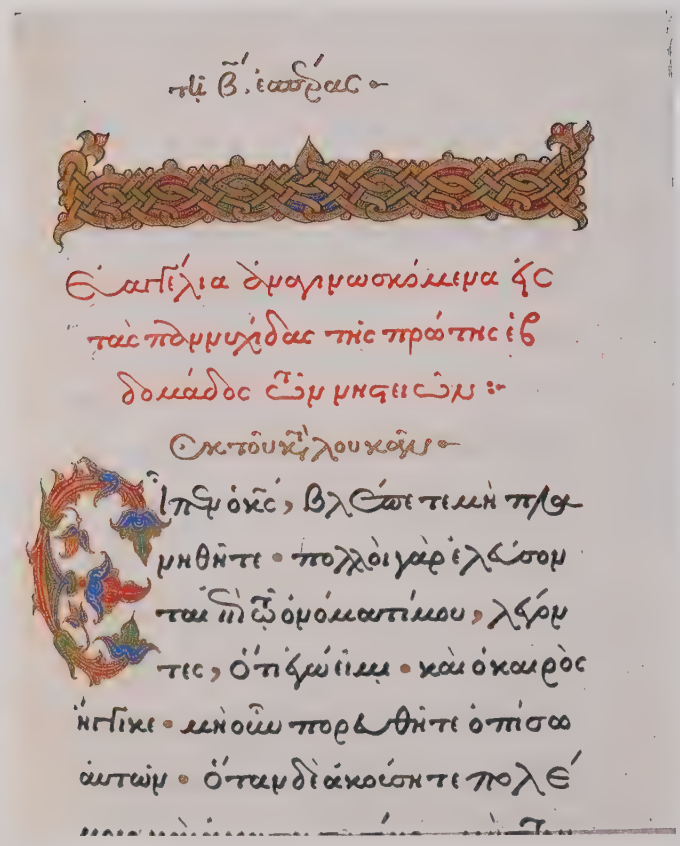


Fig. 193 *Evangelistarion of the sacristy. 1629. Heading and capital from Gospel extract, f. 120.*

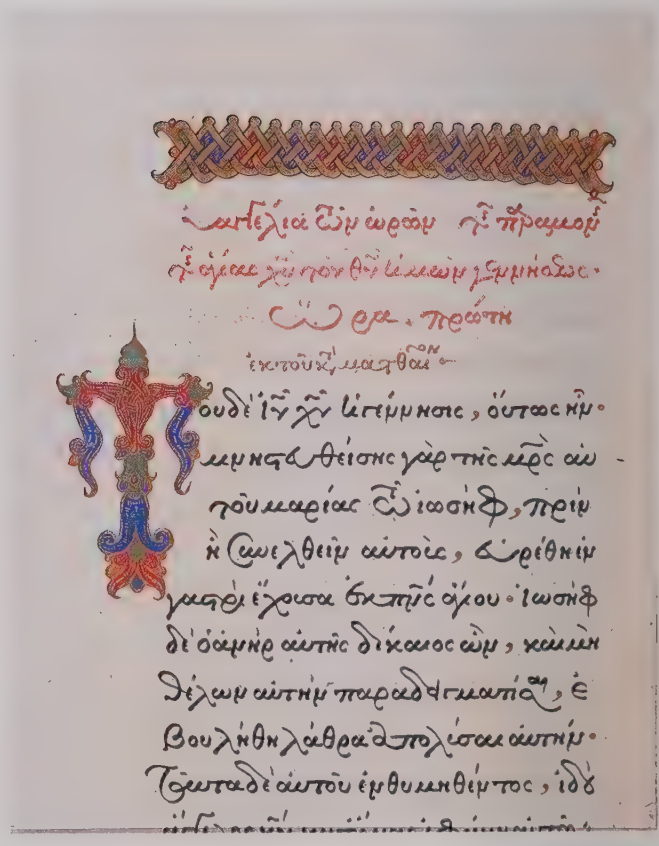


Fig. 194 *Evangelistarion of the sacristy. 1629. Heading and capital from Gospel extract, f. 248^{v}.*

of the Abbot Kallinikos priest-monk 1812 Our Lady Chrysopodarousa Nezer). The inscription is ring-punched on the lid of a cibotium for relics. Very often, the donor is clothed in anonymity, in accordance with the Orthodox teaching on humility: ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΘΗ ΔΑΠΑΝΗ ΕΥΣΕΒΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ // ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΕΝ ΑΘΩΝΙ Ι[ΕΡΟΝ] ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΣΙΜΩΝΟΣ // ΠΕΤΡΑΣ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΜ[ΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ] ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΥ // ΜΟΣΧΑ ΜΗΝΙ ΑΠΡΙΛΩ 1891 ΕΤΟΣ (no. 175). *(Fashioned at the expense of devout Christians for the Holy Monastery of Simonopetra on Athos, the Archimandrite Neophytos being Abbot, Moscow in the month of April in the year 1891).* This is an inscription engraved with enamel on a silver gilt cladding plate for an icon depicting the Nativity.

Invocatory phrases such as "Lord, remember me..." (nos. 7, 9, 14, 22, etc.), "the offering of..." (nos. 25, 42, 66, 98, 138, etc.) or "dedicated by..." (nos. 57, 78, etc.) are typical examples of dedicatory inscriptions to be found in abundance at Simonopetra. They contain more information (name of benefactor, title or office and date) than do the inscriptions of donors; the following is an example, engraved and ring-punched on the base and the lower shaft of a cross holding a fragment of the True Cross in the Monastery: ΑΦΙΕΡΩΘ[Η] // ΠΑΡΑ // ΙΕΡΕ//ΜΙΟΥ // Π[Α]Τ[ΡΙΑΡ]Χ[ΟΥ] ΤΗΙΕ//ΡΑΜΟ//ΝΗΣΙΜ//[Ο]Π[Ε]Τ[ΡΑΣ] (no. 57/1802)[8] *(Dedicated by Jeremiah the Patriarch to the Holy Monastery of Simonopetra).*

For laymen, however, the name and date were sufficient: ΜΝΗCΘΙΤΙ Κ[ΥΡΙ]Ε ΤΩΝ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ COY ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΓΕΛΙΝΗC 1693 *(Be Mindful O Lord of Thy servants Alexios and Angelina 1693),* ΜΝΗCΘΗΤΙ Κ[ΥΡΙ]Ε ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ COY ΑΝΓΓΕΛΗΝΑC ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ Κ[ΑΙ] Τ[ΩΝ] // Γ[ΟΝΕΩΝ] CΤΑΜΑΤΟΥΛΑC Κ[ΑΙ] Τ[ΩΝ] Γ[ΟΝΕΩΝ] 1707 (14 a, b). *(Be Mindful O Lord of Thy servants Angelina Ioannis and their parents and Stamatoula and her parents 1707).* The first of these inscriptions is scratched and the second engraved on the lip of a cup.

It is not unusual for there to be a record of both donor and dedicator, as evidenced by the two following inscriptions, written in black paint to the right and left of the screen in the church of St George *Kalathas:* ἘΓΕΝΕ//ΤΟ ΤΩ ΠΑΡΩ̄Ν // ΔΙΑ ἘΞΌΔΟΥ // ΤΟῩ ΚΎΡΧΑ//ΤΖΎCΙΜΩΝ // ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΈΚΝΩΝ (left) ΔΈΗCΙC ΤΩ̄Ν // ΔΟΥΛΟΝ ΤΟῩ // ΘΕΟῩ ἸΑΚΌΒΟΥ // ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΆΧΟΥ // ἈΒΟΣΊΟΥ ΜΟΝΑ//ΧΟΎ 1760 (right, no. 29). *(This was fashioned at the expense of Kyr Hadzisimon and his children* (left) and *Offering of the servants of God Iakovos priest-monk and Avosios monk 1760* (right)*).*

A considerable number of the Monastery's treasures bear inscriptions which record their previous owners; to this category belong two plates decorated with flowers which were built into the wall of the chapel of St Simon, above his cave, bearing the inscription: ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ: ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ·⁚· ΕΝ ΝΗCΟΥ ΜΉΛΟΥ·⁚· ΕΤΗ 1679 *(Belonging to Makarios, priest-monk; island of Milos, in the year 1679),* (nos. 10 and 11), the cross of Metropolitan Arsenios of Videna (no. 12/1692), the reliquary of St Charalampus, with the inscription:+ ΔΙΟΝΗCΗΟC ΠΡΟΗΓΟ̈ΜΕΝΟC ΑCΥΜΟΠΕΤΡΙΤΗC ϟΑΚΙΝΘΙΟC ΑΨΠΔ′ *(Dionysios former Abbot of Simopetra of Zakynthos 1784)* (no. 38/1784), a small silver cibotium for the relics of St Gregory of Greater Armenia: ΚΤΉΜΑ ΧΑ[ΤΖΗ] ἈΝΤΟΝΗΟΥ // ΚΑΊ Χ[ΑΤΖΗ] ΒΑCΉΛΗ // ΛΑCΦb ΓΕΏΡΓΙΕ ΑΛΒΕΚΗ 1800 *(Property of Hadziantonios and Hadzivasilis Georgie Alvekis 1800)* (no. 55), and an epigonation, staff and maphorion of Panteleimon, Bishop of Dryinoupoli (nos. 84/1842, 93/1848 and 94/1848).

Inscriptions on buildings, when and where they exist, provide important material for the study of the Monastery's architecture. At Simonopetra, the oldest surviving inscription (no. 1) is from a building and dates from the year 1567, being built in above the entrance of the tower of the arsanas at a height of two metres above the door, on the channel of the machicolation: ΑΝΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΘΗ Ο ΠΥΡΓΟC Ὁ̈//ΤΟC ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΥCΕΒΕCΤΑΤΟΥ // ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟC ΚΥΡΟΥ ΟΞΙΟΤΟΥ ΑΓΑ // ΕΤΟΥC¸ΖΟΕ ΙΝ[ΔΙΚΤΙΩΝΟC] Ι ΜΗΝ ΜΑΡΤΙΟΣ Α[9] *(This tower was constructed by the most venerable lord Kyr Oxiotis Aga in the year 1587 I of the indiction 1st of March).*

Many building inscriptions take the form of a simple date, as, for example, inscription no. 39 on built-in bricks in the church of St Nicholas *Kaprouli:* 1788. The date 1804 has been carved on a brick beneath the roof of the Monastery cemetery, on the east side (no. 59). There are quite a number of inscriptions of this type (see nos. 117, 119, 123, 165 etc.), and they increase perceptibly after the fire of 1891, thus evidencing the extent of the building that went on for a long period after this time (nos. 180, 181, 182, 183, etc.).

Of the group of building inscriptions, we quote no. 41, carved on a piece of marble built

into the wall of the credence table side of the sanctuary in the Church of St Nicholas Kaprouli: ΤΩ̄Ν ΚΤΙΤΩ̄ΡΟΝ ΤΗC // ΑΓΗΑC ΜΟΝΗC ΤΑΥΤΗC // ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ Ι//ΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ Κ[ΑΙ] ΔΑΜΑ//ΣΚΗΝΟΥ· 1788 *(By the founders of this Holy Monastery the priest-monk Ioannis Gavriil and Damaskinos: 1788).*

On the arched lintel of the door of the Abbot's quarters of the Monastery is the following prominent inscription (no. 200): 19+02 ΑΝΗΓΕΡΘΗ ΕΚ ΒΑΘΡΩΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΠΡΟ//ΣΘΗΚΗΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΕΙΑΣ ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟ̆ // ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟ̆ ΤΟ̆ ΕΞ ΑΛΑΤΣΑΤΩΝ *(19 + 02 erected from the foundations with an extension when the Archimandrite Neophytos of Alatsata was Abbot).*

It is into a totally different atmosphere that we are introduced by inscription no. 208, engraved on the Bousdoumi spring: Ω ΔΙΑΒΑΤΑ ΠΙΕ ΤΩΝ ΕΜΩΝ // ΚΑΛΛΙΡΡΟΩΝ ΕΝ ΝΑΜΑΤΩΝ // ΔΡΟΣΕΡΟΝ ΔΙΨΗΣ ΑΝΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΝ // Ο ΠΡΟΧΕΩ ΣΟΙ ΑΦΘΟΝΩΣ ΚΑΙ // ΠΡΟΣΑΓΑΓΕ ΤΩΙ ΚΤΙΣΤΗ // ΤΩΙ ΔΟΤΗΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΛΩΝ ΔΟΞΑΝ // ΑΜΑ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΙΝΟΝ // ΑΝΗΓΕΡΘΗ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ Ι[ΕΡΑΣ] ΜΟΝΗΣ // ΣΙΜΩΝΟΣ ΠΕΤΡΑΣ // ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ 1903 ΜΗΝΙ // ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΩ *(O passer-by drink of my fair flowing waters a cooling draught to quench thirst which I pour forth for you in abundance and give glory to the Creator and Giver of good things with praise erected at the expense of the ruling Monastery of Simonopetra in the year 1903 and the month of October).*

The Simonopetra inscriptions provide us with a great variety of forms in which the Byzantine tradition of epigraphy continues to be a powerful presence. Fear of God, awareness of the vanity of earthly things and a sense of history shown by the references to the founders and the record of building activity are themes spread throughout the whole of the existing material in the Monastery. All these features are summed up modestly but unerringly in inscription no. 118b/1862, written in black on the left and right of the facade of the shrine, together with representations of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St Simon and St Mary Magdalene:

Τί ὁδοιπόρε ἐρευνᾶς τοῦ μαθεῖν τήν αἰτίαν
Τήν ὧδε προκαλέσασαν ταύτην τήν ζωγραφίαν;
εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ποτέ πεμφθοίς εἰς ἐργασίαν
ταύτης τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς, ἦλθεν εἰς ἀπορίαν
ἀποκάμων ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ καί καθ' ἑαυτόν λέγων,
ἄραγε πληρωθήσονται, οἱ κόποι μου ἤ μάτην
κατά τόν προφητάνακτα, γίνονται ἄνευ κέρδους;
εὐθύς δέ ἤκουσε φωνήν, ἐλθοῦσαν ἀοράτως
ὅτι ὁ εἰς ὑπακοήν προθύμως κοπιάζων,
στέφανον λήψεται λαμπρόν, ὡς αθλητής καί μάρτυς.

(O passer-by, why do you seek to learn
The cause for which this painting here was made?
Once upon a time, one of the brothers, sent out to work
For this holy Monastery, fell into misgiving
Being weary upon the way, and speaking thus to himself:
Will my toils be recompensed, or, as says the prophet-king,
Are they in vain and without profit?
At once he heard a voice coming he knew not whence:
"He who labours willingly, in obedience,
Shall receive a glorious crown, as champion and martyr".[10])

LIBRARY

The Manuscripts

K. Chryssochoïdis

The existence of collections of manuscripts in the monasteries of Mt Athos can be traced back to the time at which coenobitic foundations began to appear. The systematic organisation of libraries on Mt Athos started with the founding in 963 of the Megiste Laura Monastery by the Blessed Athanasius the Athonite, who was himself a calligrapher. In the centuries prior to this, however, we know that the little monasteries scattered throughout the peninsula would have had manuscripts.

The smooth conduct of worship and the monastic services and also the spiritual and intellectual training of the monks meant it was essential that each monastery should possess certain specific manuals of liturgical practice and works of patristic and ascetic theology.

The interest displayed by secular dignitaries, the zeal for learning and intellectual enquiry of the brethren themselves and the generosity of clergy and laity all contributed to the enrichment, little by little, of these libraries with works of works of ecclesiastical and pagan literature. Codices were purchased or ordered and, following in the brilliant tradition of the great monasteries of Constantinople, scriptoria were set up.

The literary renaissance which took place in the declining Empire towards the end of the 13th century and throughout the 14th, together with the spread of the hesychast movement in theology, brought a whole host of scholars to work and write on Mt Athos. Their works were sought out and studied by the monks, and copies of them were to be found in every monastery library.

Neither the fall of Constantinople in 1453 or the dissemination of printing, after the end of the 15th century, had interrupted the flow of manuscripts to and from the monasteries, or the monks' activities as copyists. Now the works of the authors of the Turkish period were to be found in the libraries, and the scriptoria flourished anew throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

The nucleus of the manuscript collection of the Simonopetra Monastery must have been connected with the building of the little monastery of the Blessed Simon somewhere in the mid 13th century, despite the fact that the much later *Life* of the Blessed Simon has nothing to say on the subject whatever. However, it would seem that the library did not grow to substantial proportions until approximately a century later. This is reflected in the text which is reputed to be a *'chrysobull'* of the Despot *of "Serbia and Romania"*, Ioannis Uglješa, concerning the refounding of the Monastery. According to this document, the Serbian prince embellished the church with treasures and books, among his other donations[1]. If Uglješa was indeed the second founder of the Monastery, he would certainly not have failed to endow it with a sufficient number of the books essential for any monastic foundation. A similar case during approximately the same period (1375) is the gift of forty seven manuscripts by the Despot Thomas Preljubović and his wife Maria Angelina Doucaina Palaiologina to the church of Our Lady *"Gavaliotissa"* at Vodena when the church was dedicated to the Megiste Laura Monastery of Mt Athos[2].

Although, according to contemporary accounts, the great fire of 1580 burned many books, it cannot have destroyed the library completely, since it was housed above the narthex of the catechumens in the *katholikon* of the Monastery, which escaped damage. The flames of the great fire of 28 May 1891[3], however, swallowed it up. But it was not entirely forgotten: the

catalogue of codices of all the Athonite monasteries prepared by Spyridon Lambros in 1880 allows us to form a general, but quite clear, picture of its contents[4].

According to Lambros's catalogue, the Monastery possessed two hundred and forty five manuscripts, of which fifty seven were of music[5]. This figure is not far removed from the average number of manuscripts to be found at this time in the libraries of the smaller Athonite monasteries.

Some decades earlier, in 1837, the English traveller Robert Curzon had counted one hundred and fifty manuscripts, of which fifty were on parchment[6]. In 1843, Minas Minoidis discovered only a few liturgical manuscripts in the narthex of the *katholikon*[7], while the Russian archimandrite Antonin Kapustin, who visited Simonopetra in 1856, sets the figure at two hundred, half of them on parchment[8]. If we bear in mind that a considerable number of codices, both liturgical and musical, would have been kept in the *'typikarion'* of the katholikon for use during worship —as is still the case in many monasteries today— then the numbers of manuscripts reported by the 19th century visitors to the library are not far removed from those recorded by Lambros.

Of the one hundred and eighty eight *"literary codices"*, forty two were on parchment and one hundred and forty five on paper. They spanned a period from the 9th to the 19th century.

The oldest manuscript in the Monastery's possession was apparently a Treatise on the Gospel of St John by John Chrysostom, written on parchment during the 9th century and adorned with decorative headings (no. 7), while the earliest dated manuscript was a Gospel copied by the priest Constantine in 1189, *"in the reign of Dominus Isaac, Emperor of the Romans"* (no. 17).

Of the fifty seven manuscripts dating from the 9th to the 14th centuries, thirty four were of the 13th and 14th centuries. Although we can be sure that some of these would have been added to the Monastery's collection at a later date, their number suggests a connection with the initial zealous efforts of the Monastery to form a library. Almost all of these manuscripts were on parchment, and they were intended exclusively for liturgical use (Gospels, *menologia*, psalters) or for the spiritual and intellectual cultivation of the brethren (patristic texts, accounts of the achievements of ascetics, lives and hagiographies of saints). At this period, there does not seem to have been a scriptorium in the Monastery.

The general crisis of the 15th century was reflected in the Simonopetra library: only eleven manuscripts were attributed to this period of upheaval and turmoil in the political, social and religious life of the Orthodox East. One of these, dated 1469 and consisting of a Martyrdom of St George and a menologion for May, belonged to the rare category of manuscripts written by female calligraphers. In this case, the woman was Sophia, daughter of Rikos Kontoioannou, who most humbly begged to be forgiven for the countless errors in her book, *"for I am both unlearned and a woman"* (no. 109).

In the early decades of the 16th century, the Monastery received fifty four books as a donation from Bishop Gerasimos, who served as the Monastery's Abbot and may have been the *locum tenens* for the bishopric of Adrianople. In 1541, he appended his signature to a letter to an unnamed spiritual child[9]. It can be concluded from similar instances of donations during this period that most of the books would have been manuscripts.

The 16th and 17th centuries were represented in the Monastery's collection by a total of one hundred and three manuscripts, corresponding to 55% of the total collection. Many of them were from the Monastery's own scriptorium.

This was far from being an isolated phenomenon. As far back as the first decades of the 16th century, copying had begun to flourish once more on Mt Athos. Copyists of the greatest importance, such as the Blessed Theophilos *'Myrovlytis'*, Sophronios-Efphrosynos of Koutloumousiou Monastery, Daniil of Konstamonitou Monastery and others produced literally hundreds of manuscripts[10]. The script of the Hodegon Monastery school was revived at Xeropotamou Monastery, and a scriptorium has been identified at Dionysiou[11].

Although we no longer possess the manuscripts in question, which would have allowed us to distinguish the particular features of the Simonopetra scriptorium and attribute to it the unidentified manuscripts, it is still possible to trace the careers of its principal representatives.

From the chronological point of view, the first copyist whose work in the Monastery is

known was the monk Joel[12], who in 1565 copied a menologion for November (no. 100) and a typikon for use in the church (no. 136)[13]. This must be the same Joel who, in the early 17th century, prepared a synaxarion for March to August (no. 52) and in 1606 copied the *Spiritual Paradise* of Heracleides of Cyprus (Oxford, Christ Church, no. 79)[14].

Evidence relating to the copyist Cyril begins in 1586, when he produced a bulky manuscript with the Festal Discourses for Triodion and Pentecostarion (no. 46). A year later, he copied —*"free of charge for the salvation of my soul"*— a *parakletike* in two volumes (nos. 129 and 130). In 1588 he produced a menologion for March (no. 105), in 1589 —the year in which he joined the monastic brotherhood of Simonopetra— a menologion for June (no. 110) and in the same year the second part of the menologion for August (no. 114)[15]. Cyril was active as a copyist into the 17th century: in 1609 he produced a Service for Holy Week (no. 135) and in 1626, *"after the second burning of the Monastery"*, a large-scale manuscript containing discourses by the Fathers and *encomia* in commemoration of various saints (no. 44). However, it seems unlikely that this Cyril was the monk and copyist of the same name who, in 1555, produced a manuscript with discourses of the Fathers for the feast-days of the months March to August[16].

Among Cyril's contemporaries was the priest-monk Daniil, who copied only ascetic texts and lives of the saints[17]. The only dated manuscript of his was a *Lives* and *Martyrdoms of Saints for November,* produced in 1587/88 (no. 48). He also produced a number of undated manuscripts: a *Lavsaiki History* (no. 53), a *Sayings of Abba Dorotheus* (no. 60), a *Lives and Martyrdoms of Saints for October* (no. 47) and a *Lives and Martyrdoms of the Saints for December,* in two volumes (nos. 54 and 58). According to the copyist's note, the second volume was prepared while the priest-monk Symeon was Abbot, a time in which many manuscripts were copied in the Monastery. This places it between the years 1608 and 1625, when we have references to Symeon as Abbot[18].

At about this period, we have evidence of the work —on a smaller scale— of the priest-monk Ioasaph of Zakynthos (1614, Xeropotamou manuscript no. 92), the priest-monk Antonios (1633/34, no. 59) and the monk Pavlos (mid 17th century, no. 157).

However, the Monastery had the good fortune to number among its brethren one of the most outstanding calligraphers of the first half of the 17th century, Iakovos. Iakovos did not work in the Monastery scriptorium, but with his teacher, also a famous scribe, Loukas, Bishop of Buzău and later Metropolitan of Hungary and Wallachia[19]. Iakovos's copying activities can be traced between 1624 and 1650; in 1629 he is mentioned as a Simonopetra priest-monk, in 1630 he was consecrated Bishop of Sida, and between 1637 and 1639 he occupied the position of Bishop of Ganochora[20]. The Monastery library preserves two manuscripts worked by his hand, and presumably donated by him: the three *Holy Liturgies* of 1629 (no. 167) and a *Psalter* of 1635, the copying of which was begun by Loukas and, after his death in 1629, was completed by Iakovos (no. 140).

The Book of the Gospels of the Day (*Evangelistarion*) kept in the Monastery sacristy is an outstanding example of the copying work of Loukas and Iakovos. This manuscript, which was not recorded by Lambros, was kept in the sacristy rather than the library, and it thus escaped destruction in the fire of 1891, together with other relics. Commissioned by the nobleman Constantine Vivelis of Crete, the copying was begun by Loukas and completed by Iakovos in 1629[21]. In 1657, a certain Laskaris from the village of Metra near Constantinople donated the manuscript to Simonopetra. It is adorned with four miniatures of the Evangelists, complexly-worked headings at the beginning of each Gospel and intricate capitals (figs 189-194).

As a work of art, this Book of the Gospels of the Day belongs to the school which flourished in Moldavia and Wallachia between the mid 16th and the late 17th centuries. Its principal representatives are Loukas of Hungary and Wallachia, Matthaios, Bishop of Myra, Iakovos of Simonopetra and Theoklitos of Ioannina. These artists worked on the production of *ex voto* offerings by the princes and officials of the Transdanubian principalities to the Patriarchates and the great monasteries of the Orthodox East[22].

Apart from Simonopetra's own copyists, a number of other calligraphers worked in the Monastery's scriptorium for short periods of time during the 16th and 17th centuries. These included the priest-monk Ravoulas of Trikkala (1582/83), who was a brother at Dousiko Monastery and

later at Krya Vrysi Monastery (nos. 103 and 104)[23], and the priest-monk Rafail from the Leimon Monastery, between 1608 (no. 45) and 1611 (no. 112)[24].

The scriptorium of Simonopetra seems to have gone into decline during the 18th century; only sixteen manuscripts in the collection belonged to this period. Dorotheos Kouvlis of Chios, who in 1724 produced a *Thikaras* (no. 83), was presumably only a temporary resident of the Monastery. None of the manuscripts of two other copyists of Simonopetra, the priest-monk Dionysios of Makrinitsa, Zagora, and the deacon-monk Grigorios Kanas of Patmos[25], did not survive in the Monastery's library.

The manuscripts recorded by Lambros were not the only ones in its possession between its foundation and 1891. As was the case with all the Athonite monasteries, particularly during the Turkish period, the manuscripts tended to become scattered: some were sold, others were given away, a few were abstracted and it was not unusual for monks moving to other monasteries to take manuscripts with them for their own use. As a result, at least fourteen manuscripts from Simonopetra are today located in libraries outside Mt Athos.

In 1647, the Cypriot Roman Catholic priest-monk Athanasios Rhetor toured the monasteries of the Greek East to collect manuscripts on behalf of Cardinal Mazarin. During his visit to Simonopetra, he bought an 11th century manuscript on parchment with works of John Chrysostom. This later became part of the manuscript collection of the National Library in Paris[26]. Seven years later, in 1654, the Russian monk Arseniy Souchanov, an emissary of Tsar Alexios and Patriarch Nikon of Moscow, visited Mt Athos to collect manuscripts, particularly those of a liturgical nature. At Simonopetra, he bought a 10th century parchment manuscript with homilies by John Chrysostom on the Epistles of Paul. This codex, together with the other four hundred and ninety seven manuscripts which Souchanov purchased from other monasteries, was deposited with the Synodal Library of Moscow in the 19th century[27].

Approximately two hundred years later, in 1837, Robert Curzon bought two parchment manuscripts from Simonopetra: a 13th century Acts of the Apostles and a Ladder of John of Sinai (St John Climacus). However, he failed to obtain a Gospel with miniatures of the four Evangelists: in a note attached to the manuscript, the donor had placed a fearful *anathema* on anyone who removed it from the Monastery, and so the sale was cancelled[28]. Today, the manuscripts which Curzon bought are in the British Museum[29].

Two 15th century books of canon law, which were initially donated to the Gregoriou Monastery of Mt Athos and the St Andrew Monastery of Cephallonia were discovered in the 19th century in the possession of Haralambos Tsimaratos Gennatas and eventually ended up in the Vatican Library[30]. A 17th century manuscript containing an anthology of patristic texts, which in 1680 belonged to the priest-monk Serafeim of Simonopetra, then passed into the hands of the priest-monk Dionysios of Sinai and was eventually lodged in the library of the Monastery of St Catherine on Sinai[31]. A 15th century *stichirarion,* which belonged to the Simonopetra monk Gavriil Veneritis of Siphnos, had already left Mt Athos in 1503 and is now in the Library of St Mark, Venice[32].

When the Blessed Nicodemus of Mt Athos, a noted scholar, was preparing his edition of the Works of St Gregory Palamas, the famous hesychast of Thessaloniki, Grigorios, the sacristan of Gregoriou Monastery gave him a valuable manuscript containing the moral, exegetic and panygyric works of the Saint. This manuscript, which Nicodemus described as *"a marvellous and precious... piece of work, truly by the hand of an orthographer and calligrapher"*, has now been mislaid[33].

In the case of some manuscripts, the reasons for which they left the Monastery have not come down to us. In 1870, a parchment Gospel of the 14th century decorated with miniatures of the Evangelists and headings[34], was donated to the National Library in Athens; the library of the Academy of Romania contains an uncatalogued set of Gospels on vellum, dating from the 13th century, with miniatures[35]; and in 1912 the Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople purchased privately an illustrated parchment manuscript of the Gospels dating from 1281, copied by Symeon Kaliandris, priest and defensor of the Bishopric of Rhodes. This manuscript, which bears obvious traces of damage by fire, can be identified with no. 34 in the Simonopetra collection and may thus be the only manuscript to have survived the fire of 1891[36]. Dmitrievskij[37] had in his personal library a service book from the St Savas Monastery

copied by the priest Constantine Politis, and the libraries of Yale University[38] and Christ Church, Oxford[39] each have one manuscript from Simonopetra.

The formation of the new collection of manuscripts began immediately after the fire of 1891. But times had changed, and the very few manuscripts which were intended for use by the monks were usually of more recent content and a liturgical nature. Most of the others were seen as museum items, the province of specially-trained experts. The attempt to build up a collection of manuscripts had the purpose of ensuring that Simonopetra did not lack a category of treasure which it was regarded as self-evident that an Athonite foundation should possess.

The material for the new library was provided by Simonopetra' s dependencies —*kellia* and *metochia*— or was acquired by donation or purchase.

Today, the collection consists of fifty manuscripts, almost all of them connected with the celebration of worship and services[40]. Only a fragment of a gerontikon can be dated back to the 14th century (no. 18) while a menologion for July and August is a 16th century work (no. 1) (fig. 286). Twenty nine of the codices were copied during the 19th century (figs 188, 285), and two, containing services for the Assumption of Our Lady and Sts Joachim and Anna, were produced between 1930 and 1941 (nos. 36 and 37). These latter works were copied by a modern master, the monk Ioacheim of Simonopetra (1899-1962), from Iconium, whose greatest skill lay in imitating the script of printed texts. His calligraphy is a nostalgic reminder of an art which is now forgotten.

The Musical Manuscripts

G. Stathis

The music of Orthodox 'reasonable' worship, in which the words of our references to God and His saints are clothed, is an art, a means of expression, and a living and uninterrupted tradition. As a tradition, the fine art of chanting has a power which has been increased by those elements of it which have lasted, unchanged, through the unvarying liturgical practice of the Church; at the same time, it has a dignity as a value in its own right, beyond any comparison, which necessitates respect and acceptance without meddling. Tradition is always a power and a starting-point for fresh creation.

As an art of worship and as an interpretation of the words —St Gregory of Nyssa says that *"music interprets the meaning of that which is said"*— chanting is perhaps the most expressive medium of Orthodox worship; hymnography is dominant in it, with an intense personal element to stress the personal completion of each believer. The Orthodox worshipper is alone, face to face with the God he worships. The immediacy of the relationship between the believer and God and His saints in 'reasonable' worship, the wealth of hymnography which has sprung from that relationship, and the delicacy of expression of the widely varying emotions in the hearts of the sacred poets and hymn-composers: those were the factors which determined that the Byzantine and post-Byzantine art of chanting should be vocal, unaccompanied by instruments and monophonic. This is how the music of worship has come down to us —evolved and explicated— from the great teachers of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods, the musically learned protopsaltae, lampadarii, domestici, monks and priest-monks, and the most scholarly clerics, bishops and patriarchs, in an unbroken line. All these men of the Church strove and still strive today for the Church, from boyhood until far into old age, chanting to God and His saints and often growing 'hoarse in the throat' at their stands as their hymn goes up *"in the evening and in the morning and in the middle of the day and in all weathers"*.[1]

Hymns began to be recorded in notated form and passed on in the form of manuscript codices in the mid 10th century.[2] Approximately two centuries before this, St John Damascene had finalised the form of the Orthodox system of eight chanted modes, the *Octoechos,* which,

as a set of related modes and groups of tropars had been known since the time of the Monophysite Severus of Antioch (512-519)[3]. This notation was the product of the Byzantine spirit and culture and constitutes a system wisely suited to the perfect rendering of 'reasonable' music in unison. Since its appearance in the mid 10th century, Byzantine notation has passed through four stages of evolution which mark the four periods into which it is divided[4]: a) early Byzantine notation (mid 10th century-1177), b) middle complete Byzantine notation (1177-c.1670), c) intermediate exegetic notation (approx. 1670-1814), and d) the analytic notation of the New Method (1814 to the present).

During that period of more than a thousand years, we know of more than seven thousand musical codices on parchment and paper, written by the Byzantine and more modern composers themselves, most of whom also practised the art of codex-writing. These codices make up the incalculable wealth of the services for the Hours of day and night; they contain arrangements in all the types and species of Byzantine music and they pass on to us the works of approximately a thousand Byzantine and post-Byzantine composers, the writers of our national music, of whom at least a hundred are creative artists of the greatest stature.

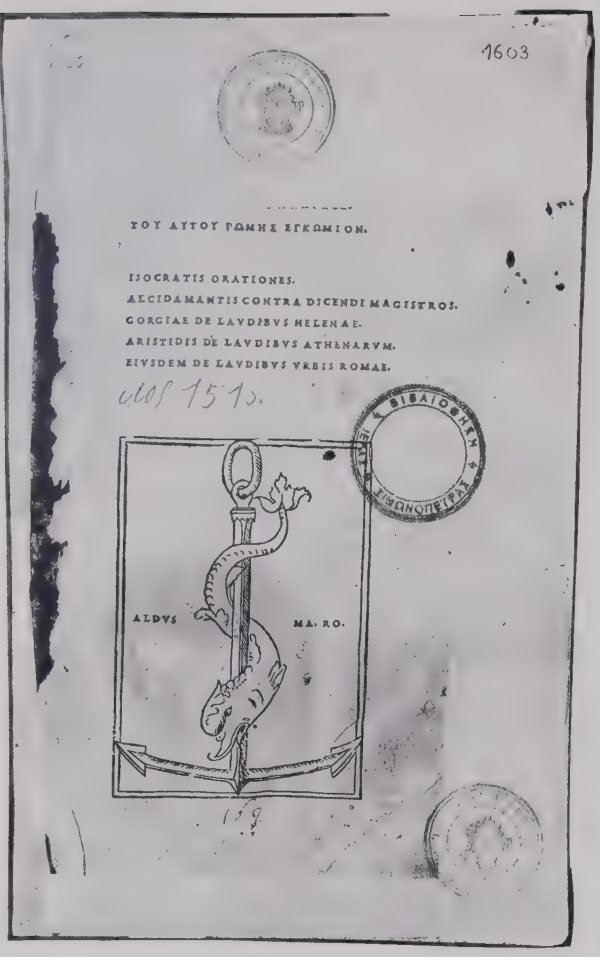
These musical codices fall into two categories[5]: those of uniform content and those of varied content. The first category consists of two groups of codices which correspond to the two types of setting, the *Stichirarikon* and the *Eirmologikon.* More specifically, the names of these codices (which refer either to their authors or to their content) are as follows: the *Stichirarion* and the *Anthology from the Stichirarion*, the *Selection from the Stichirarion*, the *Triodion - Pentekostarion*, the *Doxastarion* or *Doxastikarion,* the *Doxastarion ton Apostichon,* the *Megales Ores*, (=Great Hours), the *Anastasimatarion-Eirmologion* and the *Prologarion* and *Kalophonikon Eirmologion*. In the second category are the fixed chants sung during the daily and nightly services, most of them from the Psalms of David. There are: the *Papadiki*, formerly known as the *Akolouthiai,* the *Anthology*, the *Akoloutharion* and the early Byzantine musical manuscripts known as the *Psaltikon* and the *Asmatikon*. In addition to these, we also have the *Kontakarion* or *Ikimatarion,* the *Akathistos Hymn*, the *Kalophonikon Stichirarion* or *Mathimatarion*, the *Anthology from the Mathimatarion* and the *Kratimatarion.*

By a happy coincidence, the notation of Byzantine and post-Byzantine chant dates from exactly the same period as that in which Mt Athos became a monastic community, with its life and its uninterrupted tradition. This is of great importance, and it assists musicological research in the production of meaningful and irrefutable conclusions with regard to the history and development of notation. Most of the typical musical codices in early Byzantine notation (up to 1050) are still kept on Mt Athos. These codices have given their names to various types of notation, following the views of earlier and important musicologists; they include the 'Athonite' notation (Megiste Laura codices B32 and Γ67)[6], the 'Esphigmenic' notation (Esphigmenou codex 54) and the 'Andreatic' notation (Skete of St Andrew codex 18). Musicological research has granted Mt Athos a unique honour: the earliest dated musical manuscript, produced by a certain Anthimos in the Vatopedi Monastery on 31 May 1106. This manuscript is a Stichirarion and is today in the Leningrad Library, numbered 789.[7]

Over and above these important codices, which are connected with the beginnings of notation and chanting, Mt Athos is of more particular interest for three reasons. The first of these is the number of musical manuscripts it possesses. The libraries of the monasteries and *sketes* preserve and protect more than 2,200 manuscripts of Byzantine music, nearly one third of the total number of manuscripts of whose existence, principally in monasteries but also in other libraries in Greece and elsewhere in Europe, we are aware. Needless to say, this incalculable treasure of our musical culture contains all the variety of the types and species of Byzantine and post-Byzantine chant, and some of the documents are unique and thus of the greatest importance.

The second reason for our interest in Mt Athos is its uninterrupted tradition. The liturgical life and musical practice of the Holy Mountain have never been interrupted and are as unsleeping as the lamps before its miraculous icons. In that tradition, lasting and unchanging elements go hand-in-hand with creations in the art of worship which are new but nonetheless consubstantial with those that have gone before. Music is a living affair which accompanies the lives of the

Fig. 195 Doxastarion of Iakovos the Protopsaltes. 19th century. Ms. No. 10, p. B^{v}-1 (p. 310


1603

ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΡΩΜΗΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ.

ISOCRATIS ORATIONES.
ALCIDAMANTIS CONTRA DICENDI MAGISTROS.
GORGIAE DE LAVDIBVS HELENAE.
ARISTIDIS DE LAVDIBVS ATHENARVM.
EIVSDEM DE LAVDIBVS VRBIS ROMAE.

ALDVS MA. RO.

Fig. 196 Isocrates, Λόγοι, Aldus Press. Venice 1513 (p. 312).

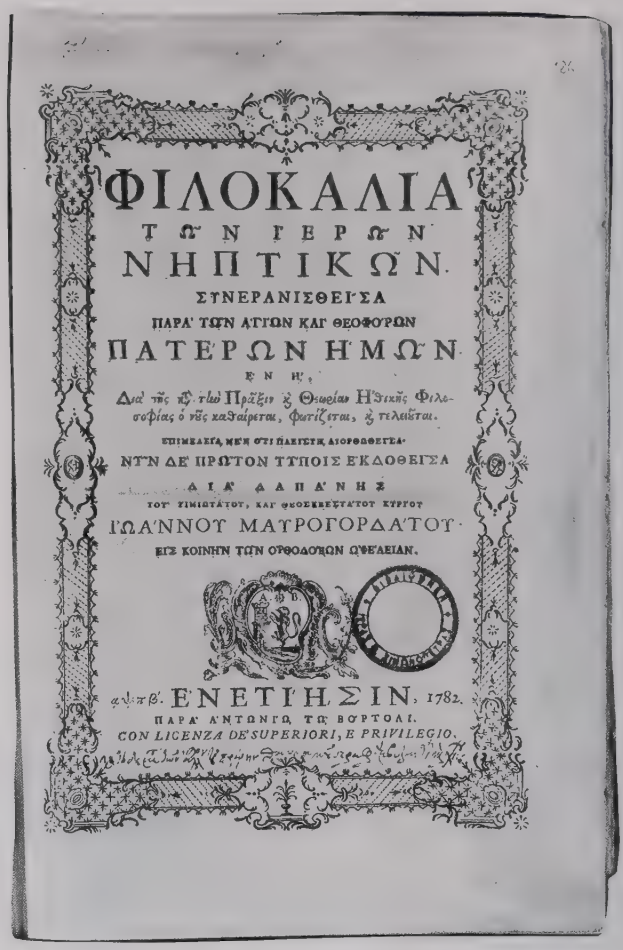
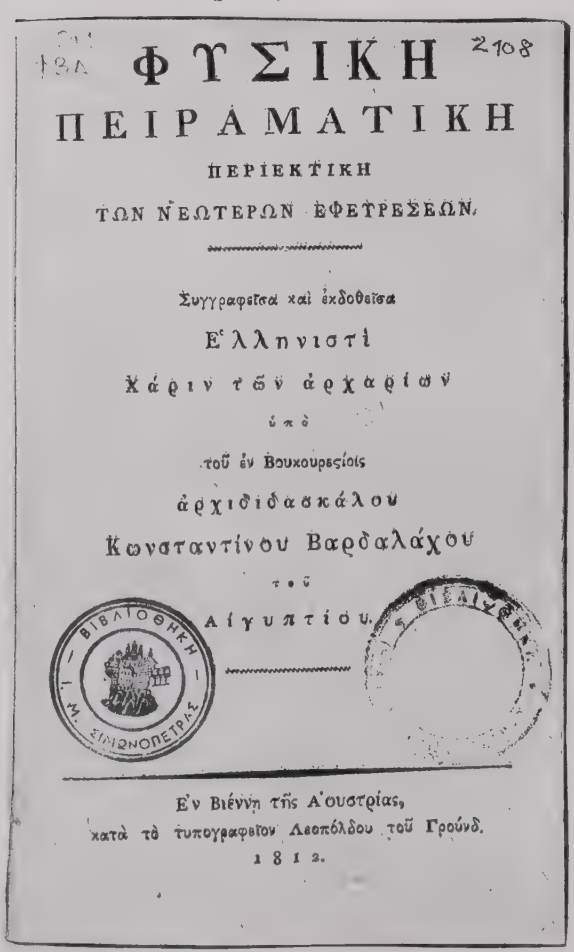

ΦΙΛΟΚΑΛΙΑ
ΤΩΝ ΙΕΡΩΝ
ΝΗΠΤΙΚΩΝ.
ΣΤΝΕΡΑΝΙΣΘΕΙΣΑ
ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΦΟΡΩΝ
ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ
ΕΝ Η',
Διὰ τῆς τῦ πρᾶξιν ϗ Θεωρίαν Ηθικῆς Φιλοσοφίας ὁ νῦς καθαίρεται, φωτίζεται, ϗ τελειῦται.
ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ, ΜΕΝ ΟΤΙ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΗ, ΔΙΟΡΘΩΘΕΙΣΑ·
ΝΥΝ ΔΕ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΤΥΠΟΙΣ ΕΚΔΟΘΕΙΣΑ
ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣ
ΤΟΥ ΤΙΜΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ
ΓΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΜΑΥΡΟΓΟΡΔΑΤΟΥ
ΕΙΣ ΚΟΙΝΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΩΝ ΩΦΕΛΕΙΑΝ.
ΕΝΕΤΙΗΣΙΝ, 1782.
ΠΑΡΑ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΩ ΤΗ ΒΟΥΡΤΟΛΙ.
CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI, E PRIVILEGIO.

Fig. 197 Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν, 1st edition, "at the expense of Ioannis Mavrocordatos". Venice 1782 (p. 312).

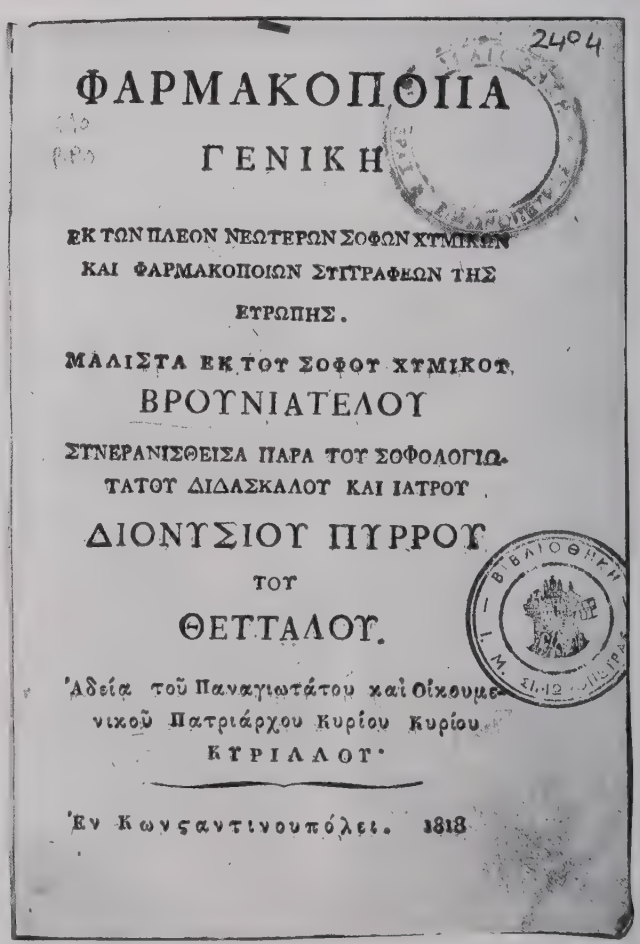

2108

ΦΥΣΙΚΗ
ΠΕΙΡΑΜΑΤΙΚΗ
ΠΕΡΙΕΚΤΙΚΗ
ΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΩΝ ΕΦΕΥΡΕΣΕΩΝ.

Συγγραφεῖσα καὶ ἐκδοθεῖσα
Ἑλληνιστὶ
Χάριν τῶν ἀρχαρίων
ὑπὸ
τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίοις
ἀρχιδιδασκάλου
Κωνσταντίνου Βαρδαλάχου
τοῦ
Αἰγυπτίου.

Ἐν Βιέννῃ τῆς Αὐστρίας,
κατὰ τὸ τυπογραφεῖον Λεοπόλδου τοῦ Γρούνδ.
1812.

Fig. 198 Konstantinos Vardalachos, Φυσική Πειραματική. Vienna 1812 (p. 312).


2404

ΦΑΡΜΑΚΟΠΟΙΙΑ
ΓΕΝΙΚΗ
ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΠΛΕΟΝ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΩΝ ΣΟΦΩΝ ΧΤΜΙΚΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΦΑΡΜΑΚΟΠΟΙΩΝ ΣΤΙΤΡΑΦΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ
ΕΤΡΩΠΗΣ.
ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΣΟΦΟΥ ΧΤΜΙΚΟΥ,
ΒΡΟΥΝΙΑΤΕΛΟΥ
ΣΤΝΕΡΑΝΙΣΘΕΙΣΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΟΦΟΛΟΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΙΑΤΡΟΥ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ
ΤΟΥ
ΘΕΤΤΑΛΟΥ.
Ἀδεία τοῦ Παναγιωτάτου καὶ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Κυρίου Κυρίου
ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ·
Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει. 1818

Fig. 199 Dionysios Pyrrhos of Thessaly, Φαρμακοποιΐα Γενική. Constantinople 1818 (p. 312).

Fig. 200 *Σειρά ἑνός καί πεντήκοντα Ὑπομνηματιστῶν... Edited Nikephoros Theotokis. Leipzig 1772 (p. 312).*

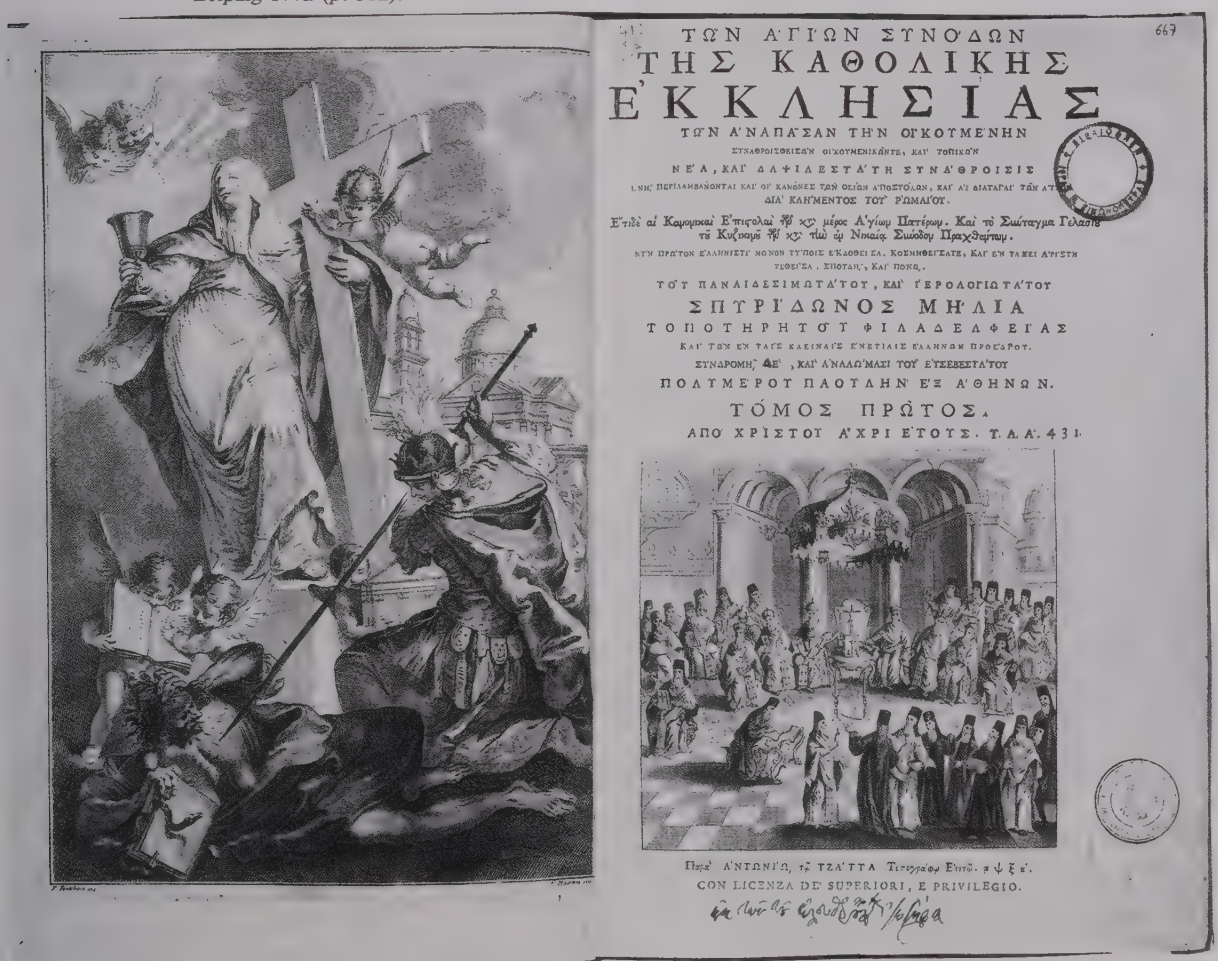


Fig. 201 *Τῶν ἁγίων Συνόδων τῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας... νέα καί δαψιλεστάτη συνάθροισις. Edited Spyr. Milias. Venice 1761 (p. 312).*

Fig. 202 *Hosiakon: calligraphy of the monk loakeim Simonopetritis. 1958.*

Fig. 203 *Eirmologion Argon of Petros Peloponnesios. 19th century. Ms. No. 6, f. 1[r] (p. 310).*

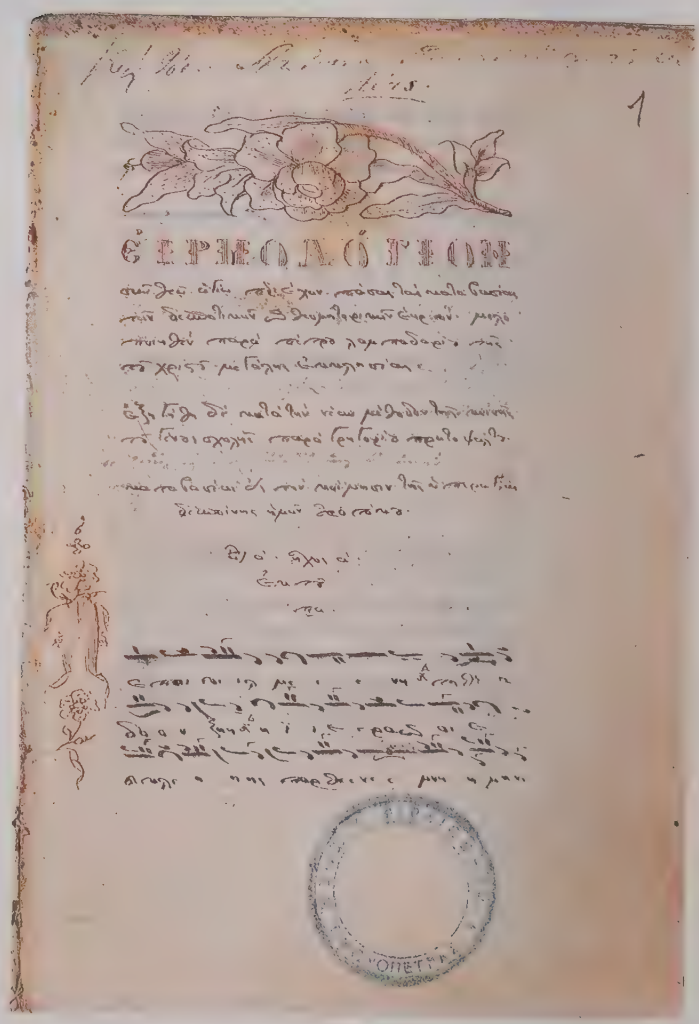


Fig. 204 Anthologia. 17th century. Ms. No. 1, f. 203^{v}-204^{r} (p. 310).

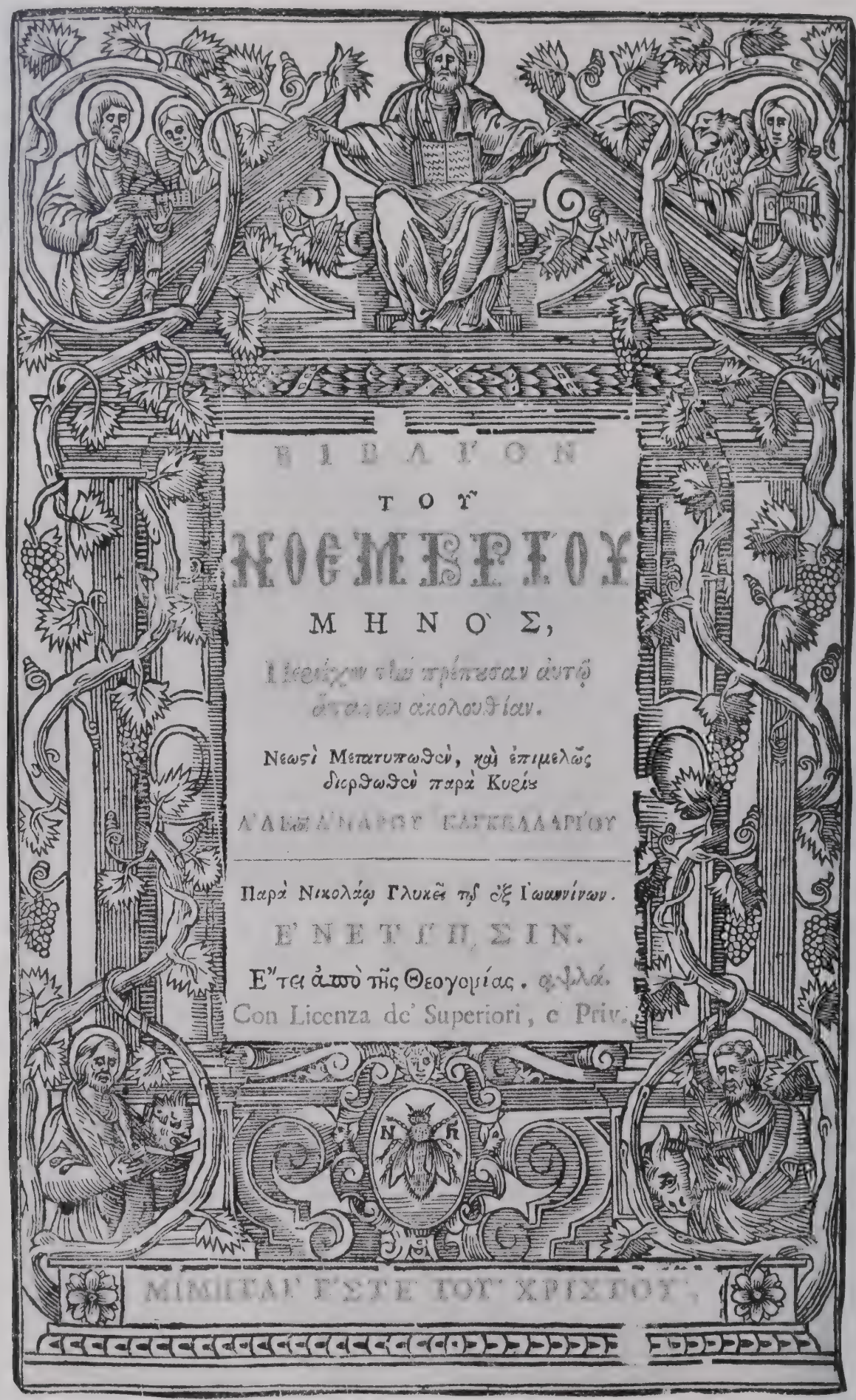
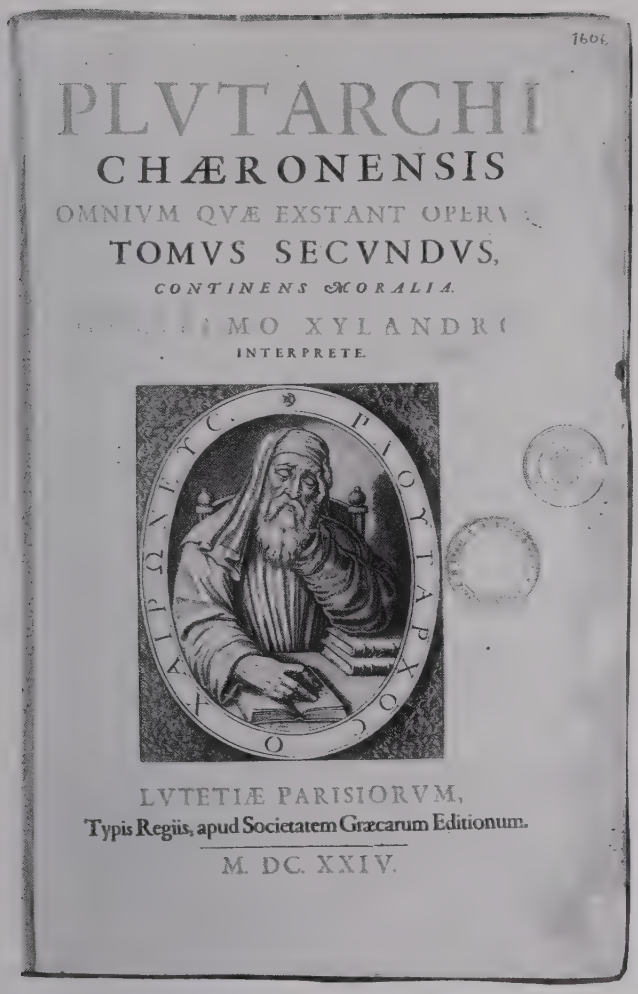


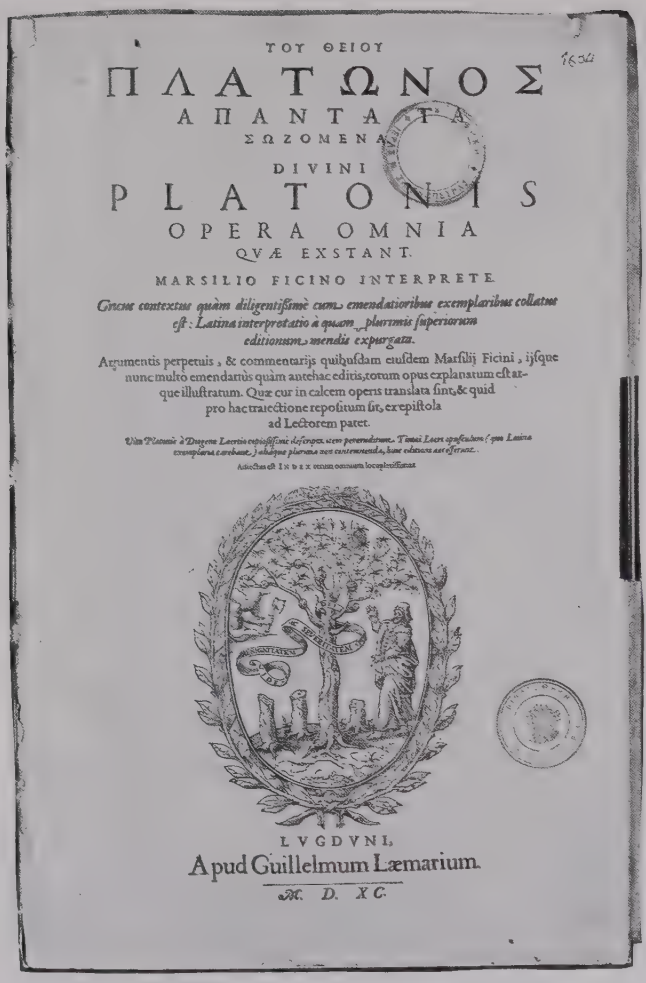
Fig. 205 Βιβλίον τοῦ Νοεμβρίου μηνός. Edited Alexandros Kankellarios. Venice 1731 (p. 312).



PLVTARCHI
CHÆRONENSIS
OMNIVM QVÆ EXSTANT OPERV
TOMVS SECVNDVS,
CONTINENS MORALIA.
MO XYLANDRI
INTERPRETE.

LVTETIÆ PARISIORVM,
Typis Regiis, apud Societatem Græcarum Editionum.
M. DC. XXIV.

Fig. 206 Plutarch, Ἔργα, Vol. 2, Ἠθικά. Paris 1624 (p. 312).



ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΥ
ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ
ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ
ΣΩΖΟΜΕΝΑ
DIVINI
PLATONIS
OPERA OMNIA
QVÆ EXSTANT.
MARSILIO FICINO INTERPRETE.

Græcus contextus quàm diligentissimè cum emendatioribus exemplaribus collatus est: Latina interpretatio à quam plurimis superiorum editionum mendis expurgata.

Argumentis perpetuis, & commentarijs quibusdam eiusdem Marsilij Ficini, ijsque nunc multo emendatiùs quàm antehac editis, totum opus explanatum est atque illustratum. Quæ cur in calcem operis translata sint, & quid pro hac traiectione repositum sit, ex epistola ad Lectorem patet.

Vita Platonis à Diogene Laertio copiosissimè descripta, vere perornatum. Tomus Laeri appellatus (quo Latina exemplaria carebant,) ubique plurimis nec contemnendis, hinc obtatus accessit.

Adiectus est Index rerum omnium locupletissimus.

LVGDVNI,
Apud Guillelmum Læmarium.
M. D. XC.

Fig. 207 Plato, Ἅπαντα. Lyons 1590 (p. 312)

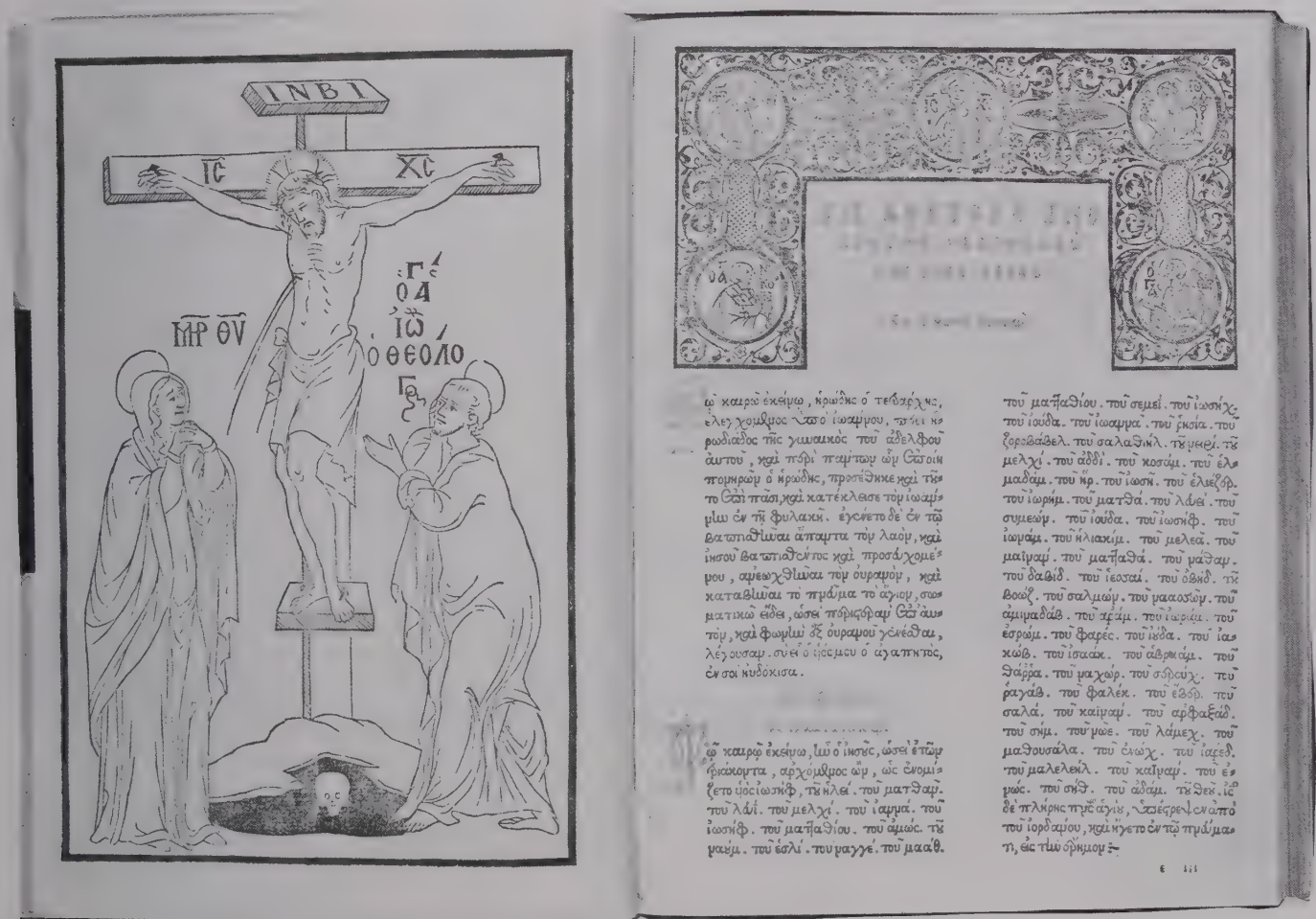
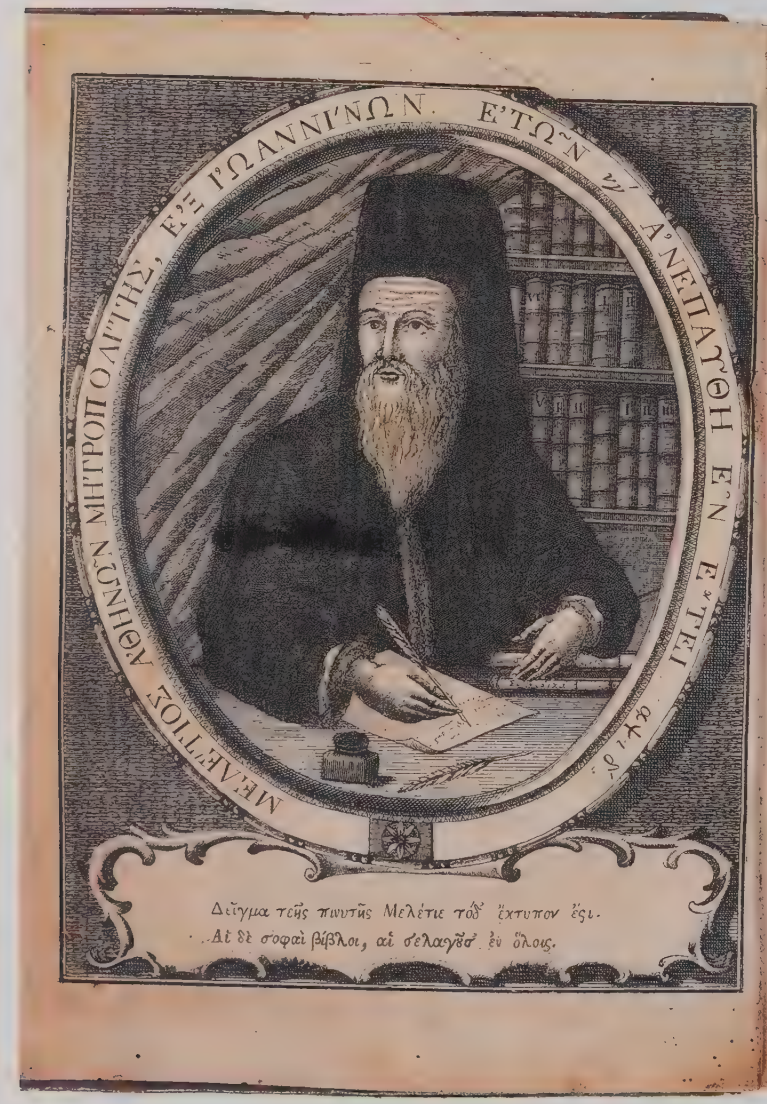


Fig. 208 The Holy Gospel. Venice 1560 (p. 312).


ΜΕΛΗΤΙΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, ΕΞ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΝΩΝ. ΕΤΩΝ ψι ΑΝΕΠΑΥΘΗ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ αψιβ.
Δεῖγμα τοῦς πυυτῦς Μελέτις τόδ' ἔκτυπον ἔχει.
Αἱ δὲ σοφαὶ βίβλοι, αἱ σέλας ἐν ὅλοις.

221
MKA
1229

ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

ΜΕΛΕΤΙΟΥ

ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ.

Μετενεχθεῖσα ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἁπλοελληνικὴν φράσιν, εἰς ΤΟΜΟΥΣ ΤΡΕΙΣ διαιρεθεῖσα· καὶ πλειστισθεῖσα μὲ πολλὰς χρησίμους, καὶ ἀναγκαίας ὑποσημειώσεις, καὶ ἀκριβεῖς πίνακας· παρὰ Γεωργίου Βενδότη ἐκ Ζακύνθου, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ διορθωθεῖσα.

ΝΥΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

Τύποις ἐκδοθεῖσα δὶ ἐπισασίας, καὶ ἀκριβεῖς ἐπιμελείας Πολυζώη Λαμπανιτζιώτη τοῦ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων.

Καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ προσφωνηθεῖσα

Τῷ Ὑψηλοτάτῳ, Εὐσεβεστάτῳ, καὶ Γαληνοτάτῳ Αὐθέντῃ, καὶ Ἡγεμόνι πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας

ΚΥΡΙΩ, ΚΥΡΙΩ, 73.

ΙΩΑΝΝΗ, ΝΙΚΟΛΑΩ, ΚΑΡΑΝΤΖΑ.

ΤΟΜΟΣ Α.

Περιέχων πρῶτον μὲν μίαν πολυμαθεστάτην Ε' ΙΣΑΓΩΓΗΝ εἰς τὴν ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΝ, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἄρχεται ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ Γεννήσεως ἕως τὸς Τετρακοσίους Χρόνους.

ψτγ'. ΕΝ ΒΙΕΝΝΗ, ΤΗΣ Α'ΟΥΣΤΡΙΑΣ. 1783.
Παρὰ ΙΩΣΗΠΩ. ΒΑΟΤΜΕΙΣΤΕΡΩ.
Νομοδιδασκάλω καὶ Τυπογράφω.

Fig. 209 Meletios, Metropolitan of Athens, Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἱστορία. Vienna 1783 (p. 312).

faithful because it is served by a host of creative artists in an uninterrupted succession. That succession contains numerous Athonite hymnographers from all the different periods.[8]

The third reason for the importance of Mt Athos is closely connected with the musical tradition of the Great Church. Most of the Athonite musical manuscripts were not produced on the Holy Mountain itself, but were imported: primarily from Constantinople, but also from scriptoria in other places. Even those which were written on Mt Athos are copies insofar as their fundamentals are concerned, enhanced with the creations of Athonite hymnographers. This is testimony to the uniform and unadulterated dissemination of authentic Byzantine chant and demonstrates the community of style which is to be found in Byzantine music. Any changes in notation or the style of composition introduced by the teachers or precentors of the Great Church were adopted by their most zealous pupils, the music-teachers of Mt Athos. The reverse was also true: when there ceased to be music-teachers in the major centres outside Mt Athos, it was to the Holy Mountain that those who wished to learn Byzantine music and disseminate it in the outside world once more resorted.

Thanks to the zeal and the concern of the Fathers of Simonopetra —and to the restocking of the library— the Monastery today preserves twenty three manuscript codices of Byzantine music, together with some fragments and detached leaves. Most of these were already in the possession of the Monastery, while the remainder were collected from the *kellia* or were willingly donated by the elders. I have described these manuscripts in detail as part of the process of cataloguing all the Byzantine musical manuscripts of Mt Athos, and since that time they have borne the index numbers 1 to 24.[9]

At this point, one should remember that the old library of the Simonopetra Monastery was burned during the catastrophic fire of 28 May 1891. The losses included the fifty six manuscripts of Byzantine music numbered 184 to 239. Unfortunately, Spyridon Lambros did not catalogue the group of musical manuscripts, noting only the following on p. 129 of Volume I of his Catalogue: *"1452-1507 (184-239) ecclesiastical music"*.[10] As a result, we know nothing of the musical manuscripts or their content. Chrysanthos Notaras, Patriarch of Jerusalem, visited Simonopetra and prepared a Catalogue of Athonite manuscripts[11], but he does not enlighten us about the musical manuscripts. He saw bulky manuscripts with discourses by St Gregory Palamas and noted, *"since the sacristan was not there, do not ask me about the remaining books"*.

The manuscripts of Byzantine music in Simonopetra library today fall into six groups, from the point of view of content: a) *Anthologies*, of which there are eight (mss. 1, 5, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16 and 20); b) *Anthologies from the Stichirarion*, one (mss. 2); c) *Anastasimataria*, five (mss. 3, 4, 8, 9, 23); d) *Doxastaria*, four (mss. 6, 7, 10, 14 and part of ms. 11); e) *Eirmologia*, one (the first part of ms. 6), and f) *Eclogues* —selections— of various chants, six (mss. 17, 18, 19, 21, 22 and 24). Of these, mss. 1 and 2 were written in the 17th century and mss. 3, 4 and 5 in the 18th century— in the original synoptic notation, of course. All the remainder date from the 19th and early 20th centuries: more specifically, mss. 6-15, 17 and 20 were produced in the 19th century and mss. 16, 18, 19 and 21-24 are 20th century work.

A closer examination of these manuscripts will enable us to approach them with greater precision and will demonstrate their significance, however restricted it may be. To begin with, it should be noted that the manuscripts do not contain any of the small number of compositions by Simonopetra monks known to us from other manuscripts[12]. The two Anthologies (mss. 1 and 5), whose contents reflect Byzantine notation prior to the 17th century (ms. 1) and the post-Byzantine notation of the 17th and 18th centuries (ms. 5), the Anthology from the Stichirarion (ms. 2) and the Anastasimataria of Chrysafis the Younger (mss. 3 and 4) are typical codices of music prior to 1814, the year in which the notation was reformed and the New Method of analytic notation introduced. All the other codices are written in this analytic notation, which is still used today. They contain compositions by modern teachers of music, including works by Petros of the Peloponnese (the entire Anastasimatarion, the Eirmologion and the Doxastarion), Iakovos the Protopsaltes (the Doxastarion) and Constantine the Precentor (the Doxastarion), together with individual compositions by Grigorios the Protopsaltes,

Hourmouzios the Chartophylax, Georgios of Crete, Theodoros of Phocaea and Petros of Ephesus. The Anthology (ms. 15) contains compositions by Antonis N. Denaxas of Thera, while the other Eclogues of various chants, the most recent manuscripts in the collection, include compositions by the Athonite teachers Nikolaos of Docheiariou, Kosmas of Docheiariou, Ioasaph of Dionysiou, Theophilos Ayannanitis and Daniil Daniilidis, together with works by Nikolaos of Smyrna. Two codices (ms. 12 and 13) contain a large number of compositions in Romanian: indeed, the latter of these is entirely in Romanian and dates from the second half of the 19th century. Manuscript no. 11, which consists of an Anthology and the Triodion of Iakovos the Protopsaltes (first half of the 19th century) also contains settings of two encomiastic chants (pp. 133-135 and 136-137) to Meletios of Crete. On the verso of the first fly-leaf is the note, *"In the year 1891/May 28/was burned Simonopetra Monastery/on Mount Athos"*. One of the owners of this codex has entered his name on the verso of the second fly-leaf: *"By me, Ilias, master, Vasil/of Simonopetra, the sinner - of Our Lord 1891/the year February 13"*.

There are indications of ownership on five more codices, including: *"This, too, belongs to Ioannis Theodorou of Siatista, no. 23"* (ms. 3), *"By the prayers of the venerable St Prokopios of Andros, Andros 1854"* (ms. 6), *"Bought for 80 p[iastres], 10 July 1877. Property of Kyrillos the priest-monk S.P. and Abbot of the Holy Coenobium of Xenophontos later ..."* (ms. 10), *"This Doxastarion belongs to Petros Kairis"* (ms. 10), *"To the noble and beloved of me Kyr Petrakis Kairis, once belonging to Theodoros, ... at Andros"* (ms. 14), *"In the year of Our Lord 1903 and on Saturday, 22nd day of the month of March, by Païsios, the least of the Lord's servants, of all mortals the most contemptible, monk of Simonopetra, a wretched Athonite"* (ms. 21).

Lastly, there are two important musical manuscripts in Simonopetra which deserve to be singled out. One of these, ms. 6, stands out for its beauty. The first of the two sections of which it is composed is the Eirmologion of Petros of the Peloponnese (fols. 1-76) and is in the hand of the distinguished teacher of music and master codex copyist Apostolos Konstas of Chios.[13] Page 1, recto, is a most elegant example of Apostolos' art. The delicate heading motif, in red, shows a flowering branch (fig. 203). Only one other Simonopetra codex, the Doxastarion of Iakovos (ms. 10) can compare with this in elegance: it has very fine full-page decoration on p. 2 verso, showing a bouquet in gold and crimson-shaded ink (fig. 195).

The other interesting manuscript, ms. 1, stands out for the importance of its contents (fig. 204). Here I shall confine myself to two items: the first is the 'Undefiled' (*Amomos*) group (fols. 155^{r}-178^{r}), which records many traditional elements from Chios (marked, typically, as *chiotikon*) and which, as far as we know, exists nowhere else. The second item is a composition by Manouil Chrysafis in 15-syllable lines in the Constantinople style.[14] This poem is published here for the first time, and concludes the present study.

Simonopetra Ms. 1 (late 16th - early 17th century), fols. 203^{v}-206^{v}: *"The present is to be chanted on the feasts of women martyrs; by kyr Manouil Chrysafis (in the fourth mode)"*.

We shall all praise her who was wedded to Christ from her mother's womb,
And shone forth truly by the multitude of her virtues
But willingly went to her slaughter by the stake
Having slain the accursed one with the sword of faith,
And we shall cry to her,
Virgin martyr of Christ, all-praiseworthy saint,
The beauty of the virtues, the renown of the martyrs,
Preserve those who reverently honour thy sacred memory
And have recourse to thy myrrh-holding vessel of relics
Unscathed against disease of any kind
And award salvation by your prayers to God.

Printed Books

I. Karas

All monasteries, without exception, and all *kellia* and *kalyves* have large or small libraries of printed books[1]. Such libraries contain not only liturgical books, but also works relating to various fields of human thought: rare editions, books which were purchased and others from the collections of bishops and lay or clerical men of learning who, at various times, bequeathed their libraries to the monasteries of Mt Athos[2]. The libraries of Mt Athos have fought against the vicissitudes of time to preserve for us, down to the present, most of the works published in Greek, from the first Greek book ever printed, that of 1476, to the most recent publications. We can refer to the *"library of Mt Athos"* because the monasteries all belong to a single monastic community with much coming and going between the monasteries —a community to which each foundation (in our case, the Simonopetra Monastery) makes its own contribution. To be more specific, we could say that each monastic library is an integral part of the single Athonite library. The *ex libris* inscriptions which we encounter in the books in the Simonopetra library, demonstrating that some of the books originally came from other monasteries[3], prove precisely this spatial unity.

In the form in which we see it today, the library of Simonopetra is of very recent date; its books were acquired in the last decade of the 19th century and during the years which have followed since then. The great fire of 1891, which was a dividing line in the history of the Monastery and of its library in particular, caused the destruction of all the books throughout the Monastery, not just in its library. The *"Catalogue of the principal items burned in the fire of 1891"* tells us that all the books which, on that day (28 May 1891) were in the various cells, dependencies and *"in the four chapels within the Monastery"* were *"lost altogether, none being saved"*, along with those in the library. According to the *Catalogue*, the library *"was located above the narthex of the catechumens...and contained more than one thousand volumes numbered by Professor Spyridon Lambros, of which 250 were in manuscript on parchment, a few of papyrus and paper"* [4]. Could it, then, be concluded from the wording that before the fire the library of Simonopetra had only 750 volumes or so of printed books *("...more than one thousand volumes..., of which 250...")*, apart from the liturgical books, which the *Catalogue* records elsewhere? The particulars afforded by the Monastery archives do not confirm such an estimate; on the contrary, they show that throughout this period the Monastery had a considerable number of books.

In the early 19th century (January 1805), the *"Inventory of the Holy Coenobium of Simonopetra"* —that is, the record of *"all those items and things, movable and immovable"*, which Abbot Yakinthos handed over to his successor, Dionysios— mentions, *inter alia*, *"five hundred and seventy four books, large and small"*, a type of wording which, as in similar cases, can be taken to indicate books of 'pagan letters'.

Another account[5], concerning the events surrounding the rebellion of 1821, indirectly confirms the claim that at that time the Monastery had not only a large number of books but 'important' volumes as well. As a result *"of the disturbances of the time"*, we read, the monks abandoned the Monastery for five years and *"on their departure put in a hiding-place the books of the greatest interest and importance"*; however, these books *"met with utter ruination there. And the number of the [ruined] books was such that, when the monks returned, they burned them and they stoked the Monastery oven three times over and committed them to the fire"*. The *Inventories of Transactions* in which expenditure on the purchase of various items was entered (including books and subscriptions to periodicals and newspapers)[6], the Monastery's correspondence and various scattered catalogues of books preserved in the Monastery archives from this period[7] all confirm that before the great fire of 1891 the library of Simonopetra had a notable collection of books covering many fields of learning: the ancient Greek authors, works of ancient Greek and Byzantine history, dictionaries, manuals of grammar and syntax not only for the Greek language but for French as well[8], primers of arithmetic, geography, physics and medicine, the Kommitas school *Encyclopaedia* in twelve volumes, and

many more, quite apart, of course, from the liturgical texts for the Monastery's everyday needs. Furthermore, the fact that the library acquired some of its books by purchase[9] dispels any suspicion that there was no plan behind its collection. The phrase *"to the purchase of books for our student(s)"*[10], the receipts for books bought *"for the Athonite School"* or *"for the order of the Athonite School"* in *Inventories of Transactions*[11], and the stamp of the Athonite School on certain books all go some way towards showing the wealth of the library in works of 'pagan letters' and help us gain a better understanding of relations between the Monastery and the School[12]. This evidence confirms that before the fire of 1891 the Monastery had a notable library.

The re-establishment of the library after 1891, this time primarily with printed books as the core of the collection, and its constant expansion were among the first priorities of the monks of Simonopetra. This interest can be seen in some characteristic cases. Two large orders for items of various kinds —building materials, kitchen utensils, provisions, etc.— to Ioannis Loukidis of Constantinople, made in 1892 (just a year after the fire) give books their place among the other necessities. Nor were these only the ecclesiastic works which would be absolutely essential for the Monastery: they also included works of general education, such as a primer of irregular verbs, an arithmetic textbook, etc. The Monastery's subscriptions to various periodicals and newspapers continued as usual: these included *Anaplasi, Ekklisiastiki Alitheia, Pharos tis Thessalonikis and Nea Alitheia*. Attempts were made to attract donations — from the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, for instance, but also from private individuals, such as Eleni Evyeniou Palli, grand-daughter of Constantine Oikonomos, the widow of Andreas Mamoukas, Constantine Doukakis, and Maria G. Hadzidaki. In 1908, Nilos Simonopetritis, then librarian of the Monastery, was sent to Athens *"to gather ecclesiastical works and also books containing other matter"*, since, as we read further on in the *"letter under the holy seal"* which he carried with him, *"the monks, apart from their religious education, also devote themselves to the painstaking study of suitable books"*.

Also indicative here is the expenditure on books in the early years after the fire, as recorded in the Monastery archives: 773 piastres in 1892, 796 the year after, and 902 in 1894; spending then shot up to 4,984 piastres in 1895 and 2,345 piastres in 1896, subsequently stabilising again at around 400 piastres per year.

These efforts to expand the library were paralleled by the Monastery's interest in its pupils in the Athonite School. The *Inventories of Transactions* show that in 1893 the Monastery spent 88 piastres on the purchase and binding of books *"for our pupil Nicodemus"*; in the following year, expenditure on books *"for our pupils"* reached 225 piastres, while in 1895 225 piastres were spent on buying and binding books *"for the pupils"*, followed by 120 piastres in 1896, and so on.

Today, a century after its re-establishment, the library has a collection of books not only in Greek but also in French, English, German, Russian, Romanian and other languages. The number of Greek editions dating from the period up to the end of the 19th century alone reaches 2,425 volumes[13]. The earliest book kept in the library is the *Speeches* of Isocrates, published by Aldus in Venice in 1513 (fig. 196). Over 40% of the books are of a general encyclopaedic nature and are the work of Greek and Latin classical writers and more recent authors whose writings span the whole spectrum of human knowledge (figs 197-201, 205-209).

This account, which is very brief by comparison with what might be written, shows the unceasing efforts which the monks of Simonopetra have made to create a library of an ecclesiastical nature which would also serve as a general reference library, a spiritual and intellectual point of convergence where they can in truth *"devote themselves to the painstaking study of suitable books"*.

Fig. 209a Monk in the garden. Woodcut. Efthymios Papadimitriou, 1935.

DOCUMENTATION

General Bibliography

The General Bibliography about Simonopetra is a listing of books, articles and extensive references to the Monastery. All the authors in this volume make reference to it in abbreviated form and have not included the basic publications listed below in the bibliographies which accompany their texts. Each article is followed only by references to the special publications which are relevant to it.

(Publications listed with Greek titles only are listed first, in Greek alphabetical order, followed by author references in Latin alphabetical order).

1. *Ἅγιος Σίμων ὁ Ἀθωνίτης, κτίτωρ τῆς Σιμωνόπετρας,* Akritas Publications, Athens 1987.

This volume is a collection in three parts: a) hagiography, b) hymnology and musicological particulars, and c) iconography. It contains an evaluation of the hagiological works already published (in prose or verse) and historical texts while adding some hitherto unknown texts and providing a catalogue of the representations of the Monastery's founder.

2. *Ἅγιος Σίμων ὁ Μυροβλύτης,* an illustrated biography, published by Iakovos, monk of Mt Athos, with illustrations and cover design by Ioannis Vranos, monk, Athens, 1972.

An adapted text of the Life of St Simon, with illustrations which are remarkable for the freedom of their renditions; a popular edition.

3. *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ὁσίου καί θεοφόρου πατρός ἡμῶν Σίμωνος τοῦ Μυροβλύτου, κτίτορος τῆς ἐν Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει τοῦ Ἄθω ἱερᾶς μονῆς Σίμωνος Πέτρας, προσέτι δέ καί ἡ Ἀκολουθία τῆς ἁγίας ἐνδόξου, μυροφόρου καί ἰσαποστόλου τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μαρίας τῆς Μαγδαληνῆς,* ed. Archimandrite Ieronymos, Abbot of the Holy Monastery of Simonopetra, Athens 1924.

Abbot Ieronymos (†1957) was responsible for collecting the known texts of the hymns, for composing new hymns to replace those which were missing and for preparing the orders of service required by the Monastery. This volume also contains a complete Order of Service for Mary Magdalene, whose memory is honoured in Simonopetra with particular devotion. Cf. Sofronios Efstratiadis, '"Αγιολογικά. Βιβλιογραφία τῶν Ἀκολουθιῶν", *ΕΕΒΣ* 9 (1932), pp. 114-116.

4. "Βίος καί πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου καί θεοφόρου πατρός ἡμῶν Σίμωνος τοῦ Ἀθωνίτου τοῦ ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ ἀσκήσαντος καί μῦρον ἀναβλύσαντος. Ὅστις ἀνεπαύθη τό ,ασνζ΄ (1257) ἔτος ἀπό Χριστοῦ Δεκεμβρίου κη΄ (28). Συγγραφείς μέν ὑπό Ἡσαΐου μοναχοῦ μεταγραφείς δέ ὑπό Νικηφόρου ἱερομονάχου Χίου", *Νέον Λειμωνάριον,* Venice 1819, pp. 89-99.

[2nd edition of the *Λειμωνάριον,* Athens 1873; for the *Life,* see pp. 473-486. 3rd edition of the *Life* in *Ἅγιος Σίμων ὁ Ἀθωνίτης,* Athens 1987, pp. 40-49.]

The original of the Life of St Simon has not survived. This edition, in the 'transcription' by Nikiforos of Chios (1821) serves as the original. The Russian translation and editions (St Petersburg[1] 1892, Moscow[2] 1892, Odessa[3] 1899) and the summaries, abridgements and paraphrases published at various times are all taken from it. These include: *Ὁ Μέγας Συναξαριστής τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας,* vol. XII, month of December, Athens[5] 1986, pp. 724-733; Archimandrite Ioustinos Popović, *Lives of the Saints: Month of December,* Belgrade 1977, pp. 803-812 (in Serbian); Makarios, monk, *The Lives of the Saints,* vol. II, Thessaloniki 1988, pp. 257-259 (in French).

St Simon lived in the 13th century. His Life in the *Λειμωνάριον* consists of the original text with more recent accretions. It was written in the year 1368 or shortly before by the monk Isaias, who is almost certainly identical with the very important 14th century Serbian hesychast of the same name.

5. *Κανών παρακλητικός εἰς τούς ἁγίους Μαρίαν τήν Μαγδαληνήν, Σίμωνα τόν Μυροβλύτην καί τόν ὅσιον Ἱερώνυμον, φιλοπονηθείς ὑπό Ἱερωνύμου μοναχοῦ Σιμωνοπετρίτου ἐν ἔτει 1896,* Athens 1924.

6. *Πανελλήνιον Λεύκωμα Ἐθνικῆς Ἑκατονταετηρίδος 1821-1921,* vol. 3, Athens 1925.

[For Simonopetra, see pp. 130-132.]

This album, devoted to the 100th anniversary of Greek independence, contains primarily information about the 19th century taken from the Monastery's two chronicles in codex form. Six abbots in the 16th-18th centuries are mentioned, followed by a complete list of those who served in the 19th and 20th centuries. Page 135 contains photographs of the Abbots Neophytos, Ioannikios and Ieronymos, together with a photograph of the monk Photios; on page 147 is a photograph of the monk Meletios.

7. ANDREAS, Monk (HARALAMBOS THEOFILOPOULOS), 1969, *Ἱερά Μονή Σίμωνος Πέτρας Ἁγίου Ὄρους,* Athens.

Ἡ ἁγία παρασκευή
Ἡ ἁγία Ἄννα
Ἡ Ἁγία Τριάς
Ἡ Ἁγία Βαρβάρα
Ἡ Ἁγία Ἑλένη
Ἡ Ἁγία Μαρίνα
Ἡ Ἁγία Κυριακή
Ἡ Ἁγία Εἰρήνη
Ἡ Ἁγία Ἀναστασία
Ἡ Ἁγία Θεοδώρα
Ἡ Ἁγία Φωτεινή
Ἡ Ἁγία Σοφία
Ἡ Ἁγία Ἀναστασία
Ἡ Ἁγία Ἀναστασία
Ἡ Ἁγία Ἀναστασ

Fig. 210 Monastery of St John the Baptist, Serres. Part of a copper engraving of the Monastery. Vienna. 1761 (p. 74).

This work contains a brief history of the Monastery and the life of its founder, in conjunction with the representations of him in the refectory. The second part of the book republishes an encomium, an order of service, an intercessionary canon and 24 stanzas in honour of St Mary Magdalene.

8. ANGHELOU, ALKIS, 1965, "J.D. Carlyle's Journal of Mount Athos (1801)", *Ἐρανιστής* 3 (1965), pp. 33-75.

[For Simonopetra, see pp. 56-57.]

The imposing Monastery of Simonopetra made a profound impression on Carlyle, who described the landscape and his reception there with great vividness and spiritual elevation. His account contains interesting information about the Monastery's debts, its lack of monks and its Abbot, Yakynthos, who headed the foundation shortly after it became a coenobium.

9. AVRAMOVIĆ, DIMITRIE, 1848, *Sveta Gora sa strane vere, chudožestva i povestnice* [= The Holy Mountain from the point of view of religion, art and history], Belgrade.

[For Simonopetra, see pp. 128-132.]

Avramović, a painter, describes the Monastery and the surrounding buildings, refers to the life of St Simon, lists the holy relics and mentions the wax bull of the Voivode Mihail, dating from 1599.

10. BARSKIJ, VASILIJ, 1885-1887, *Stranstvovanija Vasilija Grigoroviča Barskago po Svjatym Městam Vostoka s 1723 po 1747 g* [= Travels of Vasilij Grigorovič Barskij to the Holy Places of the East between 1723 and 1747], vols. I-IV, ed. N. P. Barsukov, St Petersburg.

[First journey, visit to Simonopetra in October 1725, vol. I (1885), pp. 243-244; second journey, visit in 1744, vol. III (1887), pp. 353-357. Cf. "Βασιλείου Μπάρσκυ, 'Περί τοῦ μοναστηρίου τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Σιμόπετρα', Μετάφραση καί σχόλια: Μοναχός Βασίλειος Γκρόλιμουντ", *Ἐποπτεία* 96 (1984), pp. 1194-1198.]

On his two trips to Mt Athos, the monk Vasilij Barskij from Kiev wrote some extremely interesting texts as well as making valuable drawings. On his first visit, he described the Monastery buildings on their rock, the aqueduct, the church, the surrounding area and the well-organised life of the Monastery. He also relates a little adventure he had, when he lost his way in the Monastery woods on the way to Xeropotamou.

On his second visit, he gives a more detailed description of the Monastery building complex and its church, listing the chapels and the holy relics, mentioning the great poverty and depopulation and noting the farmland and buildings around the Monastery. Barskij narrates the miraculous founding of the Monastery by St Simon and repeats what Komninos has to say in his *Proskynitarion* (no. 27) about Uglješa. Lastly, he provides an accurate drawing of the Monastery complex, the surrounding area, the roads, the arsanas and the other buildings.

11. CHRYSSOCHOÏDIS, K., 1981, "Ἅγιον Ὄρος. Μονή Σίμωνος Πέτρας" in *Μικροφωτογραφήσεις χειρογράφων καί ἀρχείων*, B, 1978-1980, Athens, pp. 24 and 47-49.

A brief record of 40 uncatalogued manuscripts belonging to the Monastery and one valuable collection of Gospel readings.

12. CURZON, ROBERT, 1849, *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant*, London.

[For Simonopetra, see pp. 424-426 and one engraving elsewhere. Cf. Anastasiou Ioannis, "Τό ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon Jun. στό Ἅγιον Ὄρος τό 1837", *Βυζαντινά* 11 (1982), pp. 309-372; for Simonopetra, see pp. 354-356.]

Curzon describes his visit to the Monastery, the reception he was accorded and the purchase of two valuable manuscripts: British Museum Library codices Add. 39600 and 39610.

13. DAVYDOV, VLADIMIR, 1840, *Afonskaja Gora* [= pp. 136-228 in Putevyja Zapiski... v 1835 godu, = Travel Notes... of 1835], vol. II, St Petersburg.

[For Simonopetra, see pp. 171-175.]

Davydov describes his reception at Simonopetra, the Monastery itself and his meeting with a certain Archimandrite Onufrios, who was also a visitor to Mt Athos.

14. DESEILLE, PLACIDE, Archimandrite, 1986, *Ἡ πορεία μου πρός τήν Ὀρθοδοξία*, Akritas Publications, Athens.

The first part of this work consists of autobiographical pages relating the theological inquiries of the author, his acquaintance with Simonopetra, his baptism (1977) and his return to France, where three *metochia* of the Monastery are currently active.

15. DIMITRIADIS, VASILIS, *Κατάλογος τῶν τουρκικῶν ἐγγράφων τῆς Σιμωνόπετρας* (in press).

16. DMITRIEVSKIJ, ALEKŠEJ, 1891, "Požar v Simono-Petrskom Monastyrě na Svjatoj Afonskoj Gore", *Pribavlenija k' Cerkovnym Vedomostjam* (1891) II, no. 30, pp. 1020-1023.

[= The fire at the Simonopetra Monastery on Mt Athos.]

With great accuracy, feeling and knowledge, this outstanding liturgical scholar describes the terrible fire and the manner in which people —monks and pilgrims— were saved, together with the holy relics and the archives. He concludes with an assessment of the consequences of the fire.

17. FOROPOULOS, NIKOLAOS, 1967, "Σίμωνος Πέτρας ἤ Σιμωνόπετρας, Μονή, ἐν Ἄθῳ", *Θρησκευτική καί Ἠθική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. 11 (1967), cols 163-165.

A brief account of the history of the Monastery.

18. GAVRIIL, Archimandrite, 1953, *Λαυσαϊκόν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους*, Volos.

[For Simonopetra, see pp. 90-94.]

A vivid description of the Monastery, with references to its history and its condition at the time.

19. GEORGIRENES, JOSEPH, 1678, *A Description of the Present State of Samos, Nicaria, Patmos and Mount Athos*, London.

Joseph, Archbishop of Samos, wrote this description of the three islands and Mt Athos between 1666 and 1671. Unpublished in the original, his work was translated into English and published in that language. Only a few lines are devoted to Simonopetra. According to Joseph, the Monastery took its name from a hermit called Simon, who healed the daughter of a lord of Kassandreia, moving him to donate a sum sufficient to found a monastery for 200 monks. Joseph says that as a holy relic the monks show the hand of St Mary Magdalene.

20. GRECEANU, RADU, 1949, *Actele Secției Bunuri Publice — București* [= The Documents of the Public Property Department, Bucharest], Bucharest.

Sixty pages of this work concern the Mihail-Voda Monastery in Bucharest, which was a *metochi* of Simonopetra. The text describes nine codices concerning the Monastery's property, giving revenue and expenditure, correspondence, debts and an overall catalogue of the documents: 646 in Romanian, 385 in Greek and 6 in Slavonic, totalling 1037 (pp. 7-10). The text also gives a list of maps and boundary markers for various properties belonging to the *metochi* (pp. 19-20) and very brief descriptions of the documents of Mihail-Voda which have survived in the Bucharest state

archives and which supplement the existing —and very important— Simonopetra archives (pp. 22-76).

21. IAKOVOS, Monk of Nea Skete, 1855, *Βίβλος σύν Θεῷ καλουμένη Ἀθωνιάς*, manuscript in the Aghiou Panteleimonos Monastery.

[For Simonopetra, see pp. 178 and 180.]

This is an almost exact copy of Komninos (see nos. 22 and 27).

22. IAKOVOS, Monk of Nea Skete, 1865, *Βίβλος σύν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ Ἀθωνιάς καλουμένη*, manuscript in the Aghiou Panteleimonos Monastery.

[For Simonopetra, see pp. 169-171.]

The same text as no. 21, above, but with additional information about the building work carried out in 1855-1865: a new harbour, the new wing with the guest house, kitchens and cells, a carved screen and restoration of the wall-paintings in the *katholikon*.

23. IOUSTINOS, Priest-monk, 1987, "Παραστάσεις τοῦ ἁγίου Σίμωνος τοῦ Μυροβλύτου", in *Ἅγιος Σίμων ὁ Ἀθωνίτης*, Athens, pp. 141-156.

This is a list of 38 representations of St Simon (11 in wall-paintings, 13 in portable icons, 5 on silver, 1 on a seal, 5 in engravings and 3 in printed books) which have survived, principally in the Monastery but also elsewhere on Mt Athos. They cover the period from the second half of the 17th century to the mid 20th century. An introduction by Professor N. Nikonanos precedes the list.

24. KAPUSTIN, ANTONIN, Archimandrite, 1864, *Zamětki Poklonnika Svjatoj Gory* [= Notes by a pilgrim to the Holy Mountain], Kiev.

[For Simonopetra, see pp. 276-282. Kapustin visited the Monastery in 1856.]

Simonopetra is described with poetic elegance and in much detail; there are accounts of it as *"a rock which serves as a landmark", of its "labyrinthine"* layout, of the hospitality which Kapustin received there, of his discussions with the monks and of his work in the library.

25. KARAS, IANNIS, 1989, *Τά ἑλληνικά ἔντυπα τῆς ἱ.μ. Σίμωνος Πέτρας*, Athens, KNE/EIE.

This is a complete catalogue of the documents dated 1513-1900, totalling 2,425, with an extensive introduction.

26. KAŠIĆ, D., "Despot Jovan Uglješa kao ktitor svetogorskog manastira Simonpetre", *Bogoslovije* 20/35 (1976), pp. 29-63.

[= The Prince Ioannis Uglješa as founder of the Simonopetra Monastery, Mt Athos.]

This is a critical presentation of the Athonite tradition and of the historical sources concerning the Serbian prince as a founder of monasteries; in the case of Simonopetra, he extended the foundation, promoted it to the status of a monastery and increased its fortune with donations and dedications. Uglješa's chrysobull has survived in a copy which forms part of a patriarchal sigil from Cyril Lucaris (1622/23), which is here published for the first time with a parallel translation into Serbian.

The building work dates from between 1365 (the year in which Uglješa received the title of 'despot') and 1368 (the year in which the chrysobull was issued). The author regards the tradition of the founder's daughter being healed by St Simon as a later addition under the influence of a similar incident, that of the curing by St Ioannikios of the daughter of the Serbian prince Yeorgios Branković (1427-1456), which was followed by the founding of the Devitsa Monastery.

27. KOMNINOS, IOANNIS, 1701, *Προσκυνητάριον τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους τοῦ Ἄθωνος*, Synagovo Monastery.

[For Simonopetra, see pp. 82-84 in the most recent edition, Panselinos, Karyes, Athos, 1984.]

The doctor and philosopher Ioannis Komninos (1658-1719) visited Mt Athos in 1698. The fruit of his journey was this *Proskynitarion* or guide for pilgrims, a work of particular importance for Mt Athos. In the case of the *"famous and holy monastery"* of Simonopetra, Komninos gives an admirably detailed description of the church and the vessels, holy relics and other items located there. He refers to the miracle of St Simon and to the building of the church of the Nativity of Christ on the rock, mentioning the help of Ioannis Uglješa, king of Serbia and Romania, in completing the structural work. Komninos also refers to the portrait of Uglješa in the refectory.

28. LAMBROS, SPYRIDON, 1891, "Notes from Athens. Mss. lost in the Burning of the Monastery of Simopetra", *The Athenaeum* 98 (1.8.1891), pp. 161-162.

In 1880, Lambros compiled a catalogue of the 245 Greek manuscripts owned by Simonopetra, but this was not published at the time. With the exception of one or two, all the codices were burned in the fire of 28 May 1891, and in this note the author gives particulars of the contents, dates and value of the manuscripts which had been lost. He also provides an alphabetical list of the copyists (see no. 29).

29. LAMBROS, SPYRIDON, 1895, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, vol. I, Cambridge.

This catalogue gives a systematic list of the Simonopetra codices which had been burned (pp. 114-129, nos. 1269-1513, a total of 245 manuscripts). Of these, no. 34 is today in the Library of the Leningrad Academy, and one of its leaves is in the Saltykov Ščedrin municipal library.

30. MANOUSSACAS, M., 1983, "Six documents athonites tirés des archives de la communauté Grecque de Venise", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983) (Okeanos), pp. 431-446.

The second of the documents published here is a letter from Simonopetra (1744) to the Greek community in Venice, soliciting money to ransom the relic of St Mary Magdalene which had been carried off by pirates.

31. MANTOPOULOU-PANAYOTOPOULOU, THALEIA, 1989, *Θρησκευτική ἀρχιτεκτονική στή Θεσσαλονίκη κατά τήν τελευταία φάση τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας (1839-1912)*, Thessaloniki.

Pages 261-284 of this doctoral thesis examine the position, history, typology, morphology, structural features and decoration of the church of St Charalampus in Thessaloniki, a *metochi* of Simonopetra. The thesis also contains (nos. 167-185) a topographical sketch, views of the interior and exterior and diagrams showing the floor plan, sections and elevations.

32. MARKOPOULOS, A. – IOUSTINOS, Priest-monk, *Ἐπιγραφές τῆς Ἱ.Μ. Σίμωνος Πέτρας, 1567-1913* (in press).

This will be a systematic record of approximately 280 inscriptions from the Monastery and its dependencies, written on materials of all kinds.

33. MILLET, G. – PARGOIRE, J. – PETIT, L., 1904, *Recueil des Inscriptions Chrétiennes de l' Athos*, part 1, Paris.

[For Simopetra, see pp. 178-180.]

This volume contains 15 inscriptions from Simonopetra (nos. 522-536), five from the *katholikon*, three from the refectory, five from reliquaries, one (a + b) from the shrine and one from the *arsanas* tower. The inscriptions cover the period 1567-1893.

34. MOÏSIS, Monk, 1981, "Ὁ Σιμωνοπετρίτης ἡγούμε-

νος Ἀμβρόσιος ἀπό τό Βογατσικό'', *Μακεδονική Ζωή* 184 (1981), pp. 42-44.

This is a biography of Abbot Amvrosios (1831-1848), accompanied by a portrait of him (in oil on canvas).

35. MOÏSIS, Monk, 1982, *Ἱερώνυμος Σιμωνοπετρίτης, ὁ Γέρων τῆς ''Ἀναλήψεως''*, Simonopetra Monastery, Mt Athos.

This is an extensive biography of the learned and virtuous man who was Abbot of the Monastery (1920-1931) and later warden and spiritual father of the Analipsi *metochi* in Athens (1931-1957). The author describes the close relationship between Simonopetra and the Abbot's birthplace in Asia Minor, and provides a wealth of information about life in the Monastery in the late 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century. The spiritual work done by Ieronymos made him the best-known Athonite in Athens.

36. MOÏSIS, Monk, 1983, ''Ἠπειρῶτες Σιμωνοπετρίτες'', *Ἠπειρωτικό Ἡμερολόγιο* (1983), pp. 127-133.

This is a biographical presentation of Bishop Panteleimon, formerly of Dryinoupoli (+1875) and of the monks Nikodimos (+1897), Ignatios (+1903), Kallinikos (+1949), Emmanouil (+1973) and Arsenios (+1981).

37. MOÏSIS, Monk, 1985a, ''Ἱερομόναχος Ἄνθιμος ὁ Ἁγιορείτης'', *Ὀρθόδοξος Τύπος* (newspaper) no. 672 (8.11.1985).

A brief presentation of the Life of Anthimos written in Russian by the priest-monk Arsenios (+1879). Anthimos (+1867), the *''fool for Christ's sake''*, began his life as an ascetic at Simonopetra.

38. MOÏSIS, Monk, 1985b, ''Μοναχός Νεῖλος Σιμωνοπετρίτης'', *Ὀρθόδοξος Τύπος* (newspaper) nos. 674 (22.11.1985) and 675 (29.11.1985).

A biography of the learned monk Nilos Mitropoulos (1871-1911), a lawyer who was related to many leading clerics and served as chief clerk to the Holy Community. Nilos restocked the library after the fire of 1891 and contributed to attaching the Analipsi *metochi* in Athens to Simonopetra.

39. MOÏSIS, Monk, 1986, ''Μικρασιάτες ἡγούμενοι στή Σιμωνόπετρα'', *Μακεδονική Ζωή* 236 (1986), pp. 42-43.

This article refers to the Abbots Serafeim (1848-1861), Neophytos (1861-1906), Ioannikios (1906-1919), Ieronymos (1920-1931), Kaisarios (1931-1940), Haralambos (1941-1949 and 1954-1973 and Aimilianos (1973-).

40. MOÏSIS, Monk, 1987, ''Τά γιατροσόφια τοῦ πάτερ Δοσίθεου'', *Ἰατρολογοτεχνική Στέγη* 75 (1987), pp. 28-38.

Dositheos (+1914) was a monk of Simonopetra; his manuscript book (1909) of folk remedies is in the Monastery.

41. MORAÏTIDIS, ALEXANDROS, 1924, *Μέ τοῦ βορηᾶ τά κύματα*, Series C, Athens.

[*''Simopetra in its nest on the steep rock; how it was built''*, pp. 69-71.]

Moraïtidis describes a trip around Mt Athos by boat, in the course of which he admires the Monastery. In a footnote, he refers to the fire of 1891, to the journey of the monks to Russia and to the fact that many of the monks were of Asia Minor descent, praising the then Abbot, Ieronymos.

42. MOUSTAKAS, CHRYSOSTOMOS, Archimandrite, 1957, *Τό Ἅγιον Ὄρος Ἄθω*, Athens.

Pages 89-94 of this book are devoted to Simonopetra. On page 90 is a representation of St Simon, from a wall-painting in Xeropotamou, and on page 91 is Simonopetra itself, both the work of Rallis Kopsidis.

43. MURAVIEV, ANDREJ, 1851, *Pisjma s Vostoka v 1849-1850 godach* [=Letters from the East in the years 1849-1850], vol. I, St Petersburg.

[For Simonopetra, see pp. 283-285.]

Muraviev provides a description of the Monastery based on his brief visit to it, and mentions its founding by St Simon and Uglješa.

44. MYRON, Priest-monk, 1988, ''Γερο-Γελάσιος Σιμωνοπετρίτης (1902-1987)'', *Ὁ ὅσιος Γρηγόριος* 13 (1988), pp. 58-69.

''A brief memoir of the works of his love towards God'', written by a grateful acolyte. Father Yelasios was a monk on Mt Athos for 57 years and served Simonopetra as a faithful acolyte, senior monk, delegate and *locum tenens*.

45. NASTASE, D., 1983, ''Les documents roumains des archives du couvent athonite de Simonopetra. Presentation Préliminaire'', *Σύμμεικτα* 5 (1983), pp. 373-383, 7 tables and Greek abstract.

This paper presents the preliminary findings of research performed in 1981 into the Simonopetra archives, involving the recording, photographing and cataloguing of the Romanian documents there (see no. 46).

46. NASTASE, D. – MARINESCU, F., 1987, ''Les actes roumains de Simonopetra (Mont Athos). Catalogue sommaire'', *Σύμμεικτα* 7 (1987), pp. 275-419, 12 tables and Greek abstract.

[Two offprints (1987), one with separate pagination.]

A catalogue of 773 Romanian documents in the archive, of the years 1433-1848. Most are from princes, but there are also numerous contracts and other documents from the Council of Princes, bishops and other authorities as well as from the monasteries which were *metochia* of Simonopetra.

47. NĂSTUREL, P., 1986, *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains* [Orientalia Christiana Analecta 227], Rome.

The testimony provided by documents is used as a basis for an account of Simonopetra's relations with Wallachia (primarily) and Moldavia (pp. 227-240), and of relations between those countries and the Kaprouli Monastery, which is today Simonopetra's *kelli* at Karyes (pp. 287-288).

48. PAPAGGELOS, IOAKIM (ed.), 1985/86, ''Ἔκθεση τοῦ προξένου Γ. Δοκοῦ περί τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους (1887)'' *Χρονικά τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς* 40-41 (1985-1986), pp. 67-130.

[For Simopetra, pp. 49-53 of the manuscript and 98-102 of the published text.]

Y. Dokos, author of the Report, gives his personal opinion of Abbot Neophytos, provides particulars of the Monastery's financial situation and refers to its attempts to gain wood-cutting rights and obtain the title deeds to forests and land near the harbour of Vourvourou, Sithonia.

49. PAPASTRATOS, DORY, 1986, *Χάρτινες εἰκόνες. Ὀρθόδοξα θρησκευτικά χαρακτικά, 1655-1899*, vols. I-II, Athens. (English edition: *Paper Icons: Greek Orthodox Religious Engravings, 1665-1899*, Athens 1990).

This collection contains three engravings (nos. 498-500) showing Simonopetra, dated 1836, 1868 and 1870. A considerable number of the engravings published here are from the Monastery collection, and some of them are rare or even unique (see no. 50).

50. PAPASTRATOS, DORY, 1987, ''Χαλκογραφημένη ἄποψη τῆς Σιμωνόπετρας μέ σκηνές ἀπό τό βίο τοῦ κτίτορά της'', in *Ἅγιος Σίμων ὁ Ἀθωνίτης*, Athens, pp. 159-169.

This text is a presentation of the large engraving of 1868, with scenes from the life of St Simon, and the two smaller engravings of 1836 and 1870 (see no. 49).

51. PASCHOS, P.V., 1981, ''Ὁ ἅγιος Ἄνθιμος ὁ Σιμω-

νοπετρίτης ὁ διά Χριστόν σαλός (9.12.1867)", *Παρνασσός* 23 (1981), pp. 610-621.

Anthimos spent the early part of his monastic life— from 1830 to about 1840— at Simonopetra (see no. 37).

52. PASCHOS, P.V., 1987, "Ἀνέκδοτο ἐγκώμιο τοῦ ἁγ. Νικοδήμου στόν ὅσιο Σίμωνα τόν Μυροβλύτη", in *Ἅγιος Σίμων ὁ Ἀθωνίτης*, Athens, pp. 81-96.

The text of the encomium first published here is taken from a late 19th century manuscript at Simonopetra. It is attributed to St Nicodemus of Mt Athos († 1809) on the basis of internal evidence. It begins with introductory notes on the topic and content of the encomium.

53. PENNINGTON, BASIL, 1977/78, *O Holy Mountain! Journal of a Retreat on Mt Athos*, Doubleday, New York (French edition, Paris 1981, Cerf).

The impressions of an American Cistercian monk gained on his visit to and retreat on Mt Athos, with particular reference to Simonopetra, to which the greater part of the book is devoted.

54. PENTZIKIS, N.-G., 1981, "Σημείωση σχετική μέ τήν ἀπεικόνιση τῆς ἱερᾶς μονῆς Σίμωνος Πέτρας", in the publication *Ὁ Ν.Γ.Πεντζίκης ὡς Τιθωνός*, Athens, pp. 16-19. Republished in the author's *Ὑδάτων ὑπερεκχείλιση: Ἀνάλεκτα*. Θεσσαλονίκη 1990.

This picture, with its total of 28 layers of paint, is in the council chamber of Simonopetra. It was reproduced in colour, in a numbered edition signed by the artist (see fig. 169).

55. RADOVIĆ, AMFILOHIJE, 1975, "Svetogorska Aifelova Kula" [= The Athonite Eiffel Tower], *Pravoslavni Misionar* 106 (1975), pp. 265-270.

This text refers to the history of the Monastery and the move there by the fathers of the Transfiguration Monastery in the Meteora, under their Abbot Archimandrite Aimilianos.

56. RADUNOVIĆ, VELJKO, 1983, "Grčki zapis u žitiju svetog Simona Svetogorsca o Maričkoj bici" [= a Greek note from the Life of St Simon of Mt Athos concerning the battle of Maritsa], *Hilandarski Zbornik* 5 (1983), pp. 179-188.

The author proves that the *"Extract from the Life of St Simon"* which is appended to the *Ἀκολουθία* (Athens 1924) as derived *"from an old manuscript"* is in fact a Greek translation of a corresponding note in Old Serbian by the well-known hesychast Isaias on the battle of Maritsa (1371). The Greek translation of Isaias is preceded by a summary of the description of the battle given by Halkokondyles.

57. SMYRNAKIS, YERASIMOS, 1903, *Τό Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, Athens [photo-offprint, Panselinos, Karyes, Mt Athos, 1988.]

[For Simonopetra, see pp. 588-596.]

In this classic work, Smyrnakis was the first author writing in Greek to attempt to put together the Monastery's history. A *"tireless and very meticulous"* writer, Smyrnakis provides a vast amount of information and covers his topic exhaustively: a description of the Monastery, the first testimony as to its existence, details of its abbots and sacristans, fires, rebuilding, debts, dependencies, property in Dafni and at Karyes, boundary disputes, *metochia* in Greece and Wallachia and a list of holy relics. Smyrnakis takes account of the two codices which chronicle the Monastery's history and frequently includes fascinating pieces of information, such as the conversion to coenobitic life in 1762 under Païsios Velitskovsky. The photograph on p. 589 shows Simonopetra being reconstructed after the fire of 1891.

58. SOULOYANNIS, EFTHIMIOS, 1987, "Καισαρίου Δαπόντε: Βίος καί πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ὁσίοις πατρός ἡμῶν Σίμωνος", in *Ἅγιος Σίμων ὁ Ἀθωνίτης*, Athens, pp. 57-78.

This is the first publication, with an introduction by its editor, of the verse Life of the saint composed by the learned monk Kaisarios Dapontes on the urging of Grigorios of Patmos, deacon of Simonopetra. It consists of 558 fifteen-syllable lines, was written between 1780 and 1784 and survives in Dapontes' own hand as Xeropotamou Codex no. 256.

59. SPUNDA, FRANZ, 1928, *Der Heilige Berg Athos. Landschaft und Legende. Mit Vierzig Bildtafeln*, Leipzig.

[Translated into Greek by Archimandrite Chrysostomos Zitter and published in the newspaper *Ἀπόστολος Ἀνδρέας*, Constantinople, in 1953. Republished in the periodical *Στάχυς*, no. 86; for Simonopetra, see pp. 140-145.]

A lyrical description of Simonopetra based on the author's own impressions and the monks' accounts of its past history.

60. STATHIS, G.T., 1976, *Τά χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς - Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, vol. II, Athens.

[For Simonopetra, see pp. 545-576.]

[Also as an offprint, *Τά χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς - Ἅγιον Ὄρος. Μονή Σίμωνος Πέτρας*, with the same page numbering.]

This is a catalogue of 23 musical manuscripts from the Monastery and a file of leaves or fragments (Simonopetra nos. 1-24, and 551-574 in the general numbering). The manuscripts date from the 17th to the early 20th centuries.

61. STATHIS, G.T., 1987a, "Ὑμνογραφικά στόν ὅσιο Σίμωνα" in *Ἅγιος Σίμων ὁ Ἀθωνίτης*, Athens, pp. 99-128.

This study examines the published and unpublished texts of hymns devoted to St Simon by seven well-known Athonites who lived and worked in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. The unpublished texts, the 24 stanzas of Iakovos of Nea Skete and the intercessionary canon of Kyrillos of Laura are included at the end of the study.

62. STATHIS, G.T., 1987b, "Ἡ ψαλτική παράδοση τῆς Σιμωνόπετρας καί ἡ ἀσματική ἀκολουθία τοῦ ὁσίου Σίμωνος", in *Ἅγιος Σίμων ὁ Ἀθωνίτης*, Athens, pp. 131-137.

The first part of this text refers to the copyists of musical codices, the musicians and composers of Simonopetra and to the embellishment and composition of services *"at their request"*. The second part presents the Saint's service as set by Daniil Daniilidis, teacher of music on Mt Athos.

63. SYMEONIDIS, SIMOS, 1984, *Μοναστήρια τῆς Σίφνου*, Athens.

Chapter V of this book (pp. 54-67) is devoted to the little Monastery of St Artemius, which was a *metochi* of Simonopetra. The dedicatory document (1629) of the founder, priest-monk Jeremias, and two Patriarchal sigils of 1637-1639 and 1654 are included.

64. TARNANIDIS, IOANNIS, 1987, "Ὁ Βίος τοῦ ὁσίου Σίμωνα, πρώτου κτίτορα τῆς ἱερᾶς μονῆς Σίμωνος Πέτρας", in *Ἅγιος Σίμων ὁ Ἀθωνίτης*, Athens, pp. 17-55.

The first part of this study covers the history of the Life and the second its texts. An attempt is made to identify and evaluate the historical particulars contained in the Life. The contents of the Life are examined critically, as are the fate of the text, the chrysobull of Uglješa, the variations in the text of the Life, the extract *"from an old manuscript"* (the note by the monk Isaias), the date of composition and the problem of the authorship of the original Life, which, with near certainty, can be attributed to the Serbian monk Isaias, 14th century hesychast and close associate of Uglješa (see also nos. 26).

65. THEOKLITOS, Monk of Dionysiou, 1974, "Τό

θαῦμα τῆς ἱερᾶς μονῆς Σίμωνος Πέτρας", *Ἀθωνικοί Διάλογοι* 20-21 (1974), pp. 16-19.

This text refers to the move to Simonopetra by the Fathers from the Meteora, and contains the inaugural address of the Abbot, Archimandrite Aimilianos.

66. USPENSKIJ, PORFIRIJ, 1877, *Pervoe putešestvie v Afonskie Monastyri i Skity*, Čast I. Otdelenie Vtoroe [= First journey to the monasteries and sketes of Athos; Part I, Book Two], Kiev.

[Simopetra, my acquaintance, with the Monastery; 7 to 12 November (1845), pp. 137-152.]

The Archimandrite and subsequently Bishop Porfirij Uspenskij, one of the foremost scholars of the Christian East, devotes some interesting pages of his valuable volume on Athos to Simonopetra.

He describes the hospitality which he received and attempts to reconstruct the early history of the Monastery. He describes the complex of buildings and its unusual architecture, the surrounding area, the church and the aqueduct. He talks of the *"single-roofed"* monasteries of the north-west side of Athos and believes that the rocks on which they stand were, in antiquity, the sites of temples and altars (founded by Corinth and Aegina when they set up trading posts there) to Zeus, Apollo, Poseidon and Aphrodite. In the 5th century, these altars were converted into temples which grew into monasteries with the passage of time.

Uspenskij worked in the library, and he describes three manuscript Gospels, four *minaia* and a *stichirarion*. In the *minaion* for December, he discovered an interesting service for Nicephorus Phocas on the 11th of the month. He visited the archive, and reports that the documents were dated from between 1581 and 1801; any earlier documents were destroyed in the fire of 1581.

Relying on certain sources to which he had access, he claims that when the Corinthians set up their trading post they brought with them colonists from the town of Petra, near Corinth, who gave their new settlement the name of *"Petra"* and built a sanctuary to Aphrodite on the peculiar sacred rock. Uspenskij connects the marble figures on the floor of the church with this hypothesis, arguing that in the 5th century the newly-converted local people replaced the worship of Aphrodite and Eros with that of the Nativity of the divine Child by the Virgin Mary. Somewhere between 680 and 870, Uspenskij claims, a monk by the name of Simon renovated the church of the Nativity, which then began to be called Simonopetra after him.

A second Simon renovated the Monastery once more in the 13th century. Uspenskij made a summary copy of the Life of this Simon, *"written relatively recently by certain monks of the Mountain"*. He refers in detail to the founding or renovation of the Monastery by St Simon and the prince Ioannis Uglješa, successfully correcting the date of 1264 given to the published Life of St Simon and placing Uglješa's rebuilding of the Monastery to between 1367 and 1371.

Lastly, Uspenskij gives details of the state of the Monastery in 1845, its monks, its *metochia* in Greece and Wallachia and its revenue. He announces that an account of the fortunes of the Monastery since the fire of 1581 *"will be published by me in a history devoted specially thereto"*.

67. VAMVAKAS, D., 1980, "Note sur l' ancient Monastère Athonite de Kaproulis", *Byzantion* 50 (1980), pp. 624-627, with 6 photographs.

This article collects the information relating to the Kaproulis Monastery at Karyes, which was a *konaki* of Simonopetra after 1621, and attempts to determine its position.

68. VAMVAKAS, D., 1985, "Ἱερά Μονή Σίμωνος Πέτρας. Κατάλογος τοῦ ἀρχείου", *Ἀθωνικά Ἀνάλεκτα* 1 (1985), pp. 105-153.

This is a catalogue of 55 Greek documents from the archives dating from the period 1516/17 to 1801: 19 Patriarchal documents, 1 episcopal document, 8 documents from the Council at Karyes, 26 monastery and private documents and 1 collective copy.

69. VLACHOS, KOSMAS, 1903, *Ἡ χερσόνησος τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους Ἄθω*, Volos.

[For Simonopetra, see pp. 262-267.]

This author takes into account the basic bibliography available at the time, and also Smyrnakis (see no. 57). He relates the history of the Monastery and describes its buildings, the church, the chapel, the library (which had been burned down), the *kathismata*, the *kellia* and the *metochia*.

70. Working Team, 1990, *Holy Monastery of Simonopetra, Mount Athos: Proposals for Immediate Repair of the Damage Caused by the Catastrophic Forest Fire of August 1990*, Mt Athos (photomechanical reproduction).

71. YEDEON, MANOUIL, 1885, *Ὁ Ἄθως. Ἀναμνήσεις, ἔγγραφα, σημειώσεις*, Constantinople.

On page 198 is some historical information about Simonopetra, and the Monastery is also mentioned elsewhere in the book.

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Notes

The Byzantine Period

1. No manuscript of the Life has survived. For the editions to date and a bibliography, see I. Tarnanidis, 1987, pp. 17-55. Pp. 40-49 contain a republication of the Life based on the *Νέον Λειμωνάριον ("Sayings of the Fathers")* published in Venice in 1819 (hereinafter referred to as *Βίος καί Πολιτεία*, *"Life and Works"*), while pp. 50-52 contain an extract from a variant version of the Life preserved in the published version of the Blessed Simon's service (Athens 1924).

2. See Barskij, 1887, p. 356; D. Avramović, *Opisanie drevnosti srbskih u svetoj (atonskoj) gori*, Belgrade 1847, pp. 76-77; Uspenskij, 1877, p. 147; Lambros, 1891, p. 161; I. Mamalakis, *Τό Ἅγιον Ὄρος (Ἄθως) διά μέσου τῶν αἰώνων*, Thessaloniki 1971, pp. 125-126.

3. Uspenskij, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

4. See the annotated edition of the text, by P. Lemerle – G. Dagron – S. Ćirković, *Actes de Saint-Pantélèèmôn* Paris 1982, p. 59.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

6. Uspenskij, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

7. Smyrnakis 1903, p. 588.

8. Tarnanidis, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

9. *Βίος καί Πολιτεία*, p. 44.

10. *Ibid.*

11. See Kašić, 1976, p. 40.

12. As is generally acknowledged, the coenobitic system was introduced to Mt Athos in the 10th century, by the Blessed Athanasius; see Mamalakis, *op. cit.*, pp. 48ff.

13. *Βίος καί Πολιτεία*, p. 44.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

15. See the published chrysobull in Kasic, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-52 (with a parallel text in Serbian).

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 38 and 51.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 40: *"Περί τοῦ ἐρμαίου τόπου τοῦ δομῆσαί μοι, κατά τό ἐνθύμιον ἐμοί" ("Concerning my building in that desert place, according to my wish").*

18. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

20. Smyrnakis, *op. cit.*, p. 588.

21. See "the Volume and Form of Mt Athos and the Protaton", in Mamalakis, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135 and footnote 2.

22. Actes de Xéropotamou, ed. J. Bompaire, Paris 1964, pp. 234-235, and Actes de Dionysiou, ed. N. Oikonomidès, Paris 1968, p. 164.

Turkish Domination

1. P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I, Vienna 1975, p. 473.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 540.

3. *Actes de Xénophon,* ed. Denise Papachryssanthou, Paris 1986, p. 223.

4. *Actes de Prôtaton,* ed. Denise Papachryssanthou, Paris 1975, p. 142.

5. *Actes de Kastamonitou,* ed. N. Oikonomidès, Paris 1978, p. 63., and *Actes de Dionysiou,* ed. N. Oikonomidès, Paris 1968, p. 164.

6. B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, Geneva 1889, p. 261.

7. *Actes de Dionysiou*, p. 195.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

9. *Actes de Kutlumus,* ed. P. Lemerle, Paris 1988, pp. 169, 173, and *Actes d' Esphigménou,* ed. L. Petit – W. Regel, 1906, p. 48.

10. Vamvakas, 1985, p. 130.

11. Năsturel, 1986, p. 227.

12. In Jerusalem Codex 370, folios 154b-171b and 217b-219; see: A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη*, I, St Petersburg 1891, pp. 388-390.

13. As representative of the Patriarch Theoklitos I, he accompanied Maximus Graecus on his journey to Moscow in 1517-1518.

14. Schreiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 668-669: a contemporary note mentioning his birth in Thessaloniki in 1499.

15. Letter to an unnamed noble, folio 169.

16. *"Circular letter"*, folio 219.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Folio 217b; see above note 14.

19. *"Circular letter"*, folio 219b.

20. Letter to the Christians of Lemnos, folio 165b.

21. N. Bees, *Τά χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων*, II, Athens, 1984, pp. 373-374.

22. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Δύο κώδικες τῆς βιβλιοθήκης Νικολάου Καρατζᾶ", *Ἐπετηρίς Παρνασσοῦ* 8 (1904), pp. 26, 30-31.

23. L. Vranousis, entry on Yiromeri Monastery, *Θρησκευτική καί Ἠθική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία* 4 (1964), col. 496.

24. Their names are in M. Gedeon, *Πατριαρχικαί Ἐφημερίδες*, Athens 1936-1938, p. 30.

25. Vamvakas 1985, p. 111.

26. *Ibid.*

27. For details of the Simonopetra *metochia* in Wallachia see Năsturel, 1986, pp. 227 *et seq.*

28. K. Sathas, *Βιογραφικόν Σχεδίασμα περί τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἱερεμίου Β΄*, Athens 1870, p. 185.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Lambros 1895, p. 119.

31. In Codex A, p. 14, of the Monastery the following note occurs: *"7130 [1622], in the month of June on the 8th, the monastery was burnt as saturday dawned, two hours before dawn; and on the next day, Sunday, pentecost"*. Thus any chronological confusion caused by the three contradictory 'memorials' given on the second burning of the Monastery is resolved (see: Smyrnakis, 1903, p. 588; Lambros, 1895, p. 118, and S. Lambros, *Βραχέα Χρονικά*, Athens 1932, p. 41).

32. Gedeon, *op. cit.*, p. 93; Smyrnakis, p. 591, he writes: 1613.

33. Smyrnakis, p. 588.

34. Vamvakas 1980, p. 627, and Vamvakas 1985, p. 129.

35. Smyrnakis, pp. 588-591.

36. Vamvakas 1985, p. 129.

37. F. W. Hasluck, "The First English Traveller's Account of Athos", *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 17 (1910-1911), p. 129.

38. An account of his travels was published by H. Omont, *Missions archéologiques*, Paris 1904, pp. 1002-1003.

39. R. Pococke, *A Description of the East*, 2, London 1745, p. 147.

40. Barskij (Greek translation), p. 1195.

41. Smyrnakis, p. 591.

42. Vamvakas 1985, p. 145.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 119-120.

44. Smyrnakis, p. 591; for the theft of the relic, see M. Manoussacas, 1983, pp. 434-436.

45. Smyrnakis, p. 591.

46. Vamvakas 1985, p. 123.

47. Smyrnakis, pp. 591-592.

48. Anghelou, 1965, p. 57.

49. Alexandros Lavriotis, *Ἔγγραφα τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους τῆς μεγάλης Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως, 1821-1832*, Athens 1966, p. 66.

50. P. Kontoyiannis, "Τά κειμήλια τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους κατά τήν Ἐπανάστασιν", *Θεολογία* 4 (1926), pp. 144-152.

51. Alexandros Lavriotis, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26, 95-96, 111.

52. On the general history of the Monastery during the post-Revolutionary period, down to the beginning of the 20th century, see Smyrnakis, pp. 592-594, and *Πανελλήνιον Λεύκωμα*, pp. 131-132; see also the monk Moïsis, 1981.

53. On the two Abbots from Alatsata, see M. Gedeon, *Μνεία τῶν πρό ἐμοῦ*, Athens 1936, pp. 91-92, 300; Fanis Cleanthis, *Ἀλάτσατα*, Athens 1987, pp. 105-107, and the monk Moïsis, 1986.

54. Smyrnakis, pp. 220, 222, 224.

The 20th Century

1. See Lambros, 1895, pp. 114-129. Lambros drew up the catalogue of Simonopetra's manuscripts in 1880, but it was not until fifteen years later, after the fire, that he published it.

2. See the *Memorandum*, p. 104.

3. See the *Πανελλήνιον Λεύκωμα* for 1925, pp. 131-132.

4. See Moïsis, monk, 1985b, part B, p. 1.

5. Smyrnakis 1903, p. 595.

6. See the *Memorandum*, p. 104, and cf. Moïsis, monk, 1986, p. 43.

7. N.A. Stathakis *Θ/Κ 'Γ. Ἀβέρωφ', Χρονικό τοῦ θωρηκτοῦ τῆς νίκης*, Athens 1987, p. 67.

8. M. Metaxakis, *Τό Ἅγιον Ὄρος καί ἡ 'ρωσική πολιτική' ἐν Ἀνατολῇ*, Athens 1913, pp. 209-213.

9. Moïsis, monk, 1982, which provides the most complete biography of the Abbot Ieronymos. Unfortunately, to date no complete bibliography of his hymns has been compiled.

10. See Theoklitos, monk of Dionysiou, 1974.

11. See the report of the working party, 1990, pp. 3-4.

Time

1. The question of time in pre-industrial societies has not been investigated in Greece, as far as I am aware, despite its importance. It was mentioned by this author in an introductory text on handicrafts in modern Greece *(Νεοελληνική Χειροτεχνία* ed. S. Papadopoulos, National Bank of Greece, Athens 1979, p. 15), and the first brief approach to it was contained in this author's paper presented at a two-day meeting organised by the Association for Modern Greek Studies (January 1987) on the general topic of *'Time, Duration and History'*. This paper was published in *Σύγχρονα Θέματα*, period II, 11th year, no. 35-37 (December 1988), pp. 239-242. The text in this volume is a second and more complete approach to the subject, relying, however, on many of the points made by the earlier text (see note 36). The question of time (measurement, repre- sentation, experience, dating, historical concepts) should form the subject of a long-term research project to be conducted by an interdisciplinary team.

The literature on the subject in other languages is extensive. Among the most important works, which also contain a wide range of bibliographical sources, are Anthony Aveni, *Empires of Time, Calendars, Clocks and Cultures*, I.B.

Tauris & Co., London 1990, and D.S. Landes, *L' heure qu' il est, les horloges, la mesure du temps et la formation du monde moderne,* Gallimard, Paris 1987. The text which follows has drawn considerably on both books. Other interesting bibliographical sources will be found in the notes.

This study, like that devoted to the subject of space (p. 58) constitutes an attempted ethnological approach to the world of Simonopetra. Its author who was a 'participant observer' in the whole life of the Monastery throughout the work of preparing this volume, has combined particulars from his readings at various times, from his past experiences and, in particular, from his more recent experience of the monastery. His readings have provided the historical references, and his experience the testimony set down here, which is personal and restricted in chronological and spatial terms.

2. Aveni, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

3. *"Little wonder that most biological rhythms are virtual duplicates of nature's basic periods — the day, month, and year, all of which have their celestial origins in the rotation of the earth and the movement of the sun and the moon... The environment is the ultimate source, the giver of time... that entrains all biological organisms to oscillate in the first place. Tide, temperature, season and moonlight — all represent the primal input that drives us to execute our clockwork, both chemical and genetic... More than a hundred functions are known to oscillate within our bodies each day... While the human sleep cycle is circadian, the reproductive cycle is predominantly circa-lunar and circa-annual".* (Aveni, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 28, 29, 32).

4. *"Of two ways of looking at the universe, we in the West seem to be attempting either to seek a singular order that we already have faith exists in the universe (we need only to uncover it), or to create an order out of all that we perceive and all that happens to us. Whether it exists or whether we make it up, order is something we cannot live without: at least it is natural for us to want to live in such a world than in one that is purely chaotic. If there is a single motive to characterize why we keep time, that motive must surely be the search for order... So far as our time reckoning originates... in the simple inborn rhythms of nature, the scientist is correct: the calendar is already in us. But the humanist is correct, too, for in the past 3,000 years we have taken time outside of ourselves. We have made our own expressions of it...".* (Aveni, *op. cit.*, p. 139).

5. Writing about Tsakonia, Thanasis Kostakis notes that the means of expression to determine time *"are phrases and terms relating to local conditions, the environment and the geographical layout of the area... Mountains in the locality, low hills or rocks are recognised by the inhabitants of the area as infallible indicators of time at certain periods during the day and night and as reliable guides to the changing seasons of the year"* (" Ἐκφραστικά μέσα γιά τόν προσδιορισμό τοῦ χρόνου στά Τσακωνικά", *Λαογραφία* 20 (1962), p. 28).

6. *"Cattle prods, stakes, saddle girths, the wooden 'swords' used for beating linen — all the available fixed lengths and tools of farmers are used to measure the distance between the sun and the local horizon. The same holds true in the pastoral life: the given habits of sheep and goats —the time when grazing commences, the time for resting in the shade, watering, or pasturing— which take place at the same time each day are the best clocks for shepherds".* (A.I. Thavoris, "Τά ἐκφραστικά μέσα προσδιορισμοῦ τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ ἡμερονυκτίου στήν ἀρχαία, μεσαιωνική καί νέα ἑλληνική", *Ἐπιστημονική Ἐπετηρίς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, Annexe 2, Thessaloniki 1959, p. 131.

7. Explaining why cockerels were such a frequent decorative motif, Sarakatsan women said, *"the little cockerels used to wake us up, and we owed them a lot"* (information from Eleni Filippidi, Alexandroupoli).

8. On Lemnos, today, *"each farmer has his signs in the stars: what time they set, what time they come out, how far across the sky they go. And that's his clock; if he sees his sign down low, he knows he's still got time; when it goes further up, it's time to be on the road or on the way to the sheepfold. The signs can get you up whatever time you want. They're the farmer's guide"* (Thavoris, *op. cit.*, p. 45).

9. *"The 7-day biorhythm in the human body is one of the recent discoveries of modern chronobiology"* (Aveni, *op. cit.*, p. 100).

10. *Ibid*, p. 106.

11. The feast days of the two great Orthodox saints mark the transition from one period into the next. Note the following characteristic statement: *"St Demetrius's day is when the shepherds are feed. That's how they tell the time: from St Demetrius's day to St George's day, and from St George's day to St Demetrius's day"* (T. Kizlaris, " Ἀγροτικός Βίος τῶν Θρακῶν", *Λαογραφία* 12 (1919), p. 393). Also characteristic is the more learned definition of eternity: it is as long as there are two seasons *"in which the cold and the heat alternate"* (in the 'Copy of the Report of the Holy Community on the Fire...', Codex B, p. 279).

12. *"After the mid 18th century, Menologia, Calendars and Almanacs began to be printed independently, in pamphlet form, to meet the new social needs which had begun to appear with the development of trade and the formation of the new structures of the bourgeois and petit bourgeois family... [These publications] adhered strictly to and copied foreign calendars... On the other hand, it does not appear that any Greek calendars designed specifically for the rural population were published, by way of contrast to Western Europe, where this category was one of the most important"* (F. Iliou, *Προσθῆκες στήν ἑλληνική βιβλιογραφία*, 1st ed., Diogenes, Athens 1973, pp. 209-210).

13. *"The calendar is the first code, the first social tool, the first mythology, the first sacred book. No calendar is an arbitrary production: it is the fruit of tireless observation and of the requirements of the nutrition cycle, which will not be denied; it is also a record of the sum total of the myths, a narrative of the relations between God and the Cosmos. Thus it consists of a number of overlaid networks: the succession of days and nights... and the list of feast days representing the history of the Gods"* (J. Attali, *Histoires du temps,* Fayard, Paris 1982, p. 35).

14. C. Andronikof, *Le sens de la liturgie*, Cerf, Paris 1988, pp. 86 and 89-90.

15. One isolated instance of a cosmic representation of time is to be found in a wood-carving of the 12 months with depictions of the occupations appropriate to each (see *Ἐθνογραφικά* 6 (1989), p. 8) and evidence of a different notion can be seen in the wall-paintings by Pagonis in the church of St Demetrius at Neochori, Pilio (see K. Makris, *Βήματα,* Kedros, Athens 1979, pp. 151ff).

16. See D. Mourikis, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century" in *Sinai, Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*, ed. C. Manafis, Ekdotike Athenon, Athens 1990, pp. 161, fig. 30, 147, fig. 16, and 148-9, fig. 17.

17. Ibid, pp. 177, fig. 51, 178, fig. 52, 179, fig. 53 and 180, fig. 54. For the silver revetments of the icons, see the *Catalogue, Special Exhibition of Relics braught by Re-*

fugees, ed. Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens, Athens 1982, pp. 94 and 96.

18. See the instructions of Dionysios of Fourna in *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης...*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, St Petersburg 1909, pp. 162ff. The same features, namely, the shape and colour of the beard, were used to indicate age by Uspenskij 100 years later when describing the monks whose particulars he recorded in his catalogue. See Uspenskij Porfirij, *Pervoe Putešestvie v Afonskie Monastyri i Skity, Čast I. Otdelenie Vtoroe*, Kieve, 1845.

19. It is characteristic of the cyclical concept of the continuity of life that on Patmos, when going to a christening, it is customary to say, *"We're off to resurrect... (the child's grandfather's name)"*.

20. Makris, *op. cit.*, p. 205 and fig.

21. Dionysios of Fourna, *op. cit.*., pp. 213-215.

22. *"The main structure of the universal chronicle was erected in the third century.... The tradition of the universal chronicle was continued even after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks and supplied the historical reading matter of the Greek people until the revolution of 1821."* (C. Mango, *Byzantium, the Empire of new Rome*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1980, p. 193).

23. *"The average Byzantine, like all other simple folk, had but a limited awareness of the succession of years... The main reason for this disregard of absolute dates lay in the lack of a generally recognised form of chronology... but even in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, when the annus mundi was solidly entrenched, the use of dates in inscriptions, manuscripts, buildings and so on remained the exception rather than the rule"* (Mango, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190). *"As late as the fifteenth century it is doubtful whether people in general knew the current year of the Christian era, since that depended on an ecclesiastical computation and was not used much in everyday life"* (G.J. Whitrow, *Time in History*, Oxford University Press 1988, p. 84). The Christian calendar was formulated in the 4th century, the numbering of the years began in the 6th century and the distinction between AD and BC was introduced in 1627 (see Aveni, *op. cit.*, p. 127). The dating 'from the Creation' was retained in the learned tradition of codex copying until the early 17th century, operating in parallel to the AD numbering which had already been adopted.

24. For detailed datings of manuscripts, see A. Kominis, *Facsimiles of Dated Patmian Codes*, Centre of Byzantine Studies, National Research Foundation, Athens 1970, pp. 39 and 42ff. For erroneous dates of Easter, see *ibid.*, p. 23.

25. Y. Sotiriou, *Ἡ βασιλική τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης, Κείμενον*, Athens 1952, pp. 27, 221, 227.

26. *"Until that time [i.e. the second half of the 18th century] the measurement of time was linked primarily to religious needs, and in the field of Greek printed matter, needs were met by ecclesiastical calendars, the various 'paschalia', the Eternal Courses of the Moon of Ionas Yialinas, the Rules for finding the day on which each month begins, published in various sizes, and the lunar calendars printed as a matter of course at the end of liturgical books, catechisms and the Manual of Accounting of Glyzounis. To this category we should add the Eternal Paschalion of Matthaios Kigalas and the Record of the Orbits, which were published separately"* (Iliou, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-209).

27. Landes, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

28. Miklosich – Müller, vol. 6, pp. 245-246. See also Era Vranousi, "Πατμιακά 4, 'Σάββας Καθηγούμενος τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου' ", *Ἑλληνικά* 19 (1966), pp. 215-225. For the use of clocks in Byzantium more generally, see F. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καί Πολιτισμός* vol. B.II, French Institute of Athens, Athens 1948, pp. 89-91.

29. From the *Βίβλος... Βαρσανουφίου καί Ἰωάννου*, ed. Nikodimos Ayioritis, pub. V. Rigopoulos, Thessaloniki 1974, p. 70 (my thanks to Father Serapion of Simonopetra for drawing my attention to the extract). In this instance, the 'clock' is the manuscript and the 'minutes' are the verses. Since the hours of night are shorter during the summer (as equal fractions of a night which, as a whole, is shorter), the Abbot recommends that the process of counting the number of verses should be repeated at this time of year.

30. An interesting contrast of two different conceptions can be gained from the sets of instructions for the use of time written by two spiritual guides, one Orthodox and one Puritan. Richard Baxter (b. 1697), one of the most important preachers of the Puritan movement, included the following precepts in his *Christian Directory*, a manual for labouring families: *"Use each minute as if it were the most valuable thing and dispose of it as duty dictates. Time is money... Never forget how profitable it is to make up for lost time, either as merchandise or as some other commercial transaction, as soon as possible. It is customary in farming and everywhere else to say of a man who has grown wealthy from it that he used his time well"* (cited in French by Attali, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190). On the other hand, Nikodimos Ayioritis (1803) taught that *"...Christians should keep their crafts and handiworks as subsidiary works and not as their main concern... and their work and craft should be prayer and the worship of God, above all and by itself... work as much as is essential to produce the needful for life and dress yourselves and your children and so as to be able to help the poor, and let these needfuls be sufficient unto you... speak with simplicity, work with simplicity, buy and sell with simplicity and a just heart"* (*Χρηστοήθεια τῶν Χριστιανῶν*, ed. S. Schinas, Volos 1974, pp. 176-177, 155).

31. In the West, after the 18th century, the industrial cities progressively expanded the use of machinery and clocks, and the quantitative measurement of production time (in which standardisation and specialisation are required) became general. The use of clocks spread into rural areas (late 18th century) and towards the middle of the 19th century (1835) it became possible to produce the entire clock by mechanical means. People acquired clocks; they even became clocks, thinking of the world as resembling a well-wound clock, thinking of time as money. During this period, exact measurement left the factory and spread out into the countryside (via the railway), and synchronisation on the national level was followed by the international scale (with telegraphy, and taking Greenwich Observatory as the common point of reference for measurement of the time). Since about 1930, clocks and watches have been available as cheap mass consumption goods. New techniques allow us to 'preserve' time (photography), 'reverse' it (cinema), or 'make' it by increasing the speed of our actions (cars, aeroplanes, computers). Accuracy of measurement is now down to 0.0000001 of a second per day, and the 'creation' of the world has been moved back 15 million years.

32. Ioannis Komninos, *Προσκυνητάριον τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους τοῦ Ἄθωνος*, Venice 1745, published by Nikolaos Glykis of Ioannina, pp. 48-49. M. Gedeon wrote of this clock 140 years later that *"Komninos would have described [it] in identical terms today, adding only that the first hour is regulated so as to coincide with the rising of the sun, so that in the summer sunset it at the fifteenth hour and in the winter at the ninth — the opposite, that is, of the Byzantine method of measuring time from the sunset"* (M. Gedeon, *Ὁ Ἄθως*, Printing House of the Patriarchate, Constanti-

nople 1885, pp. 32-33). For a similar wooden 'black man' on the clock-tower of Vatopedi Monastery, see M. Capuani, *Monte Athos*, Europia, Novara 1988, p. 188.

33. See its description.

34. M. Manoussacas, 1983, pp. 436-438. The period of time which elapsed between the arrival in Venice of the priest-monk Athanasios (April 1745) and the approval for publication of Komninos's *Προσκυνητάριον* is too short for this to be the same clock. What seems most likely is that Vatopedi was seeking to buy a second and larger one.

35. Papastratos, 1986, pp. 439-441 (Dionysiou), 470-474 (Aghiou Pavlou), 457-458 (Zographou), 404-407 (Megiste Laura), 475-477 (Stavroniketa), 478-479 (Xenophontos), 444 (Koutloumousiou), 489 (Esfigmenou). The dates refer, of course, to the year in which the engravings were printed and not to that in which the clock was installed, which may have been much earlier. Research in the modern Greek archives of Mt Athos will produce fuller and more accurate particulars, as would a close examination of the engravings themselves, whose reduction in size in the book sometimes makes a reading of their details impossible (hence the question mark by the identification of Megiste Laura in the text).

36. T. Karanastasis, "Μία ἐνθύμηση ἀπό τόν Κώδικα Α' τῆς Μονῆς Προδρόμου Σερρῶν σχετική μέ σεισμούς στά 1768 καί μιά πρώιμη περίπτωση λεπτομερειακοῦ προσδιορισμοῦ τοῦ χρόνου", *Σερραϊκά Χρονικά* 10 (1988), pp. 85-100. This article is a valuable contribution to an approach to the issue of time.

37. Papastratos, *op. cit.*, pp. 498-499 (St John the Baptist, Serres), 522 (Rila), 524 (St Savas, Palestine), 542-543 (Our Lady of Tenos), 163-164 (Dormition of the Virgin, Hydra).

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 509-514. 21 March was the date to be determined.

39. S. Papadopoulos – Chrysostomos Florentis, *Νεοελληνικό Ἀρχεῖο Ἱ. Μ. Ἰωάννου Θεολόγου Πάτμου, Κείμενα γιά τήν τεχνική καί τήν τέχνη*, ETBA Cultural Foundation, Athens 1991, pp. 381-382.

40. Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Metalwork" in *Sinai, Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*, ed. K. Manafis, Ekdotike Athenon, Athens 1990, pp. 277 and 298, figs. 27 and 29.

41. For Philippoupoli, see P.Taferner, *Keiserliche Botschaft an die Ottomannische Pforte...*, Breslau 1680, p. 87. For Philippoupoli and Drama, see *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas*, Paris 1712, vol. 1, p. 255. For Larisa, see K. Simopoulos, *Ξένοι ταξιδιῶτες στήν Ἑλλάδα 333 μ.Χ. - 1700*, Athens 1970, p. 628. For Serres, see this volume, p. 43 and note 43. For Yannina, see C.N. Lambrakis, "Τραγούδια τῶν Τζουμέρκων", *Λαογραφία* 5 (1915), pp. 56-57. For Yannitsa, principally, and also Komotini, Didymoteicho, Kozani and Grevena, see M. Kiel, "Venice Vardar...", *Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica* III, 1972, Leiden pp. 321-323 (my thanks to my colleague Sotiris Kissas for drawing my attention to this article).

42. The next should read: "later or earlier".

43. R. P. Robert de Dreux, *Voyage en Turquie et en Grèce... (1665-69)*, H. Pernot, Paris 1925, pp. 93-94. The fact that the Eske Cami in Serres had two clocks in the early 20th century, one of them running 'in the Frankish manner' and one in the Turkish, is typical of the period of transition which ended with the liberation of the city in 1913. The strength of tradition can be seen in the reluctance to change on the part of elderly people, *"who had been used to the old Byzantine time throughout their lives"*, and of the railway company, which by way of exception had imposed European time on the town (N.E. Petrovits, "Λαογραφικά Εὑρήματα Σερρῶν", *Σερραϊκά Χρονικά* 1 (1953), pp. 113-114.

44. F. Beaujour, *Tableau du commerce de la Grèce...*, Paris 1800 (pp. 176-179: Greek edition).

45. These are the "clock repairers" to whose numbers Evliya is referring when, writing of Constantinople in the 17th century, he states that they totalled the fantastic figure of 12,000 (see G. Bauer, "Οἱ διοικητικές, οἰκονομικές καί κοινωνικές λειτουργίες τῶν τουρκικῶν συντεχνιῶν" in *Ἡ Οἰκονομική Δομή τῶν Βαλκανικῶν Χωρῶν (ΙΕ΄-ΙΘ΄ αἰώνας)*, selection of texts and introduction by S. Asdrachas, Melissa, Athens 1979, p. 579 and the note on p. 591, 12) or the much lower but still exaggerated figure of 1,000 technicians in 40 workshops (the latter figure does possess some verisimilitude) given in the English translation *(Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa in the 17th century by Evliya Efendi, translated from the Turkish by the Ritter Joseph von Hammer*, London 1846, p. 140).

More reliable information about the 'clock repair men' from Genoa in Constantinople is provided by Antony Babel ("L' Horlogerie genevoise à Constantinople et dans le Levant du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle", *Etrennes Genevoises*, 1927, reprinted). Babel states that the sale and repairing of Turkish-style Geneva timepieces in Constantinople was sufficient to cause a community to grow up as early as 1592. In 1652 the community was numerous, in 1725 it consisted of 20 families and a total of 85 persons, and in 1737 it numbered 160 souls.

46. N. Papadopoulos, *Ἑρμῆς ὁ Κερδῷος*, vol. II, *Lexicon of Commercial Matter* Λ-Ω, pp. 375-382 under the entry 'ὡρολόγιον' (reprinted by the ETBA Cultural Foundation, Athens 1989).

47. *Ibid.*

48. Papadopoulos, *op. cit.*, provides the following description of these timepieces:

"Hour-glass: or sand-clock, consisting of two flasks with narrow mouths, placed one on top of the other with their mouths touching, one full of fine sand which, as it runs into the lower, empty, flask, notes the time against lines which are deliberately marked on the flask. These time-pieces can measure one or two hours, or as many as 12. These flasks are used by placing them in a wooden case, and when the bottom flask is filled the hour-glass is turned upside down and the hours can be seen marked on the other bottle, and so on and so forth. Hour-glasses are used on ships. Water-clock: the water-clock operates in the same manner, using water which runs from a spring and is led off in a narrow pipe to be measured in a flask each hour, or using the same flasks as above".

For the use of hour-glasses by mariners, see *Τοῦ ναύκληρου ἐφημερινή εἰς τό πέλαγος πρᾶξις... μεταφρασθεῖσα μέν ἐκ τῆς ἰταλικῆς διαλέκτου παρά... Σπυρίδωνος Ζαφαράνα Κεφαλληνιέως*, Patriarchal Printing House, Constantinople 1803, pp. 157-158; *Μαθήματα τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἐκ τῆς Γαλλικῆς... παρά Θ.Ρ. τοῦ Μ.*, Bologna, Italy, 1806, by Mazis Bros. & Co., vol. II, pp. 51, 54-56; *Ὁδηγία θαλάσσιος...* by Captain Nikolaos Kefalas, Vienna, Printing House of Ioannis V. Tsvekiou, 1817, pp. 111-112; *Μαθήματα τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐπιστήμης*, N. Vryonis of Cephallonia, 2nd ed., Ermoupoli, Syros, from the printing house of N. Varvaresos, 1847, pp. 133-136; *Σύστημα ναυτικῶν μαθημάτων*, N. Patronis, Syros 1860, pp. 26-27; *Ναυτική...*, K.F. Fournier, Athens, from the printing house of S.K. Vlastos, 1865, pp. 57-59; *Ὁ Νέος Προωρεύς...*, translated and edited by I. G. Mavrommatis, Ermoupoli, Syros, from the printing house of R. Printezis, 1867, pp.

118-119; *Μαθήματα 'Ονοματολογίου...*, I.F. Kanellopoulos, Piraeus 1891 (lithograph), pp. 182-183. I am indebted to Captain Anastasios Tzamtzis, the historian of the modern Greek merchant marine, for all these bibliographical references.

49. Subsequent accounts confirm that of Papadopoulos, J.D. Carlyle (1801) refers to shops in Karyes which sold clocks (I.M. Hadzifotis, *Τά ἐργαστήρια καί ἡ ἀγορά τῶν Καρυῶν...*, Panselinos Publications, Karyes 1985, p. 11). Codex B (p. 91) of Simonopetra mentions a senior monk named Gerasimos of Xeropotamou who was a clockmaker (1854). The general census of the laity residing at Karyes, of 1885 (my thanks to priest-monk Ioustinos of Simonopetra for this piece of information), gives the name of two clock-makers in Karyes, both of them from Serres: Stergios Nikolaou, aged 42, and Yeorgios Konstantinou, aged 33. In 1897 the number rose to three (Hadzifotis, *op.cit.*, p. 19). K. Vlachos, writing in 1903, also mentions clock workshops, 1903, p. 157, note 2). This clock repair workshop, which was in the Zoodochos Pighi kelli at Karyes, ceased functioning in 1905, according to information provided by ex-abbot Gavriil of Karyes (much material from it has survived, and would be worthy of attention). The last monk clock-repairer died on Mt Athos in 1984 (Hadzifotis, *op. cit.*, p. 52).

50. It is characteristic that monks, like emigrants, keep for the rest of their lives an image of the outside world as it was when they left it. This goes quite a long way towards explaining why it should be that the monks of each new generation in the same monastery differ somewhat from those of previous generations.

51. *"The day, then, is a time of 'action', the conclusion of which is freedom from passion, while the night is the time of 'theory', of personal communication with God by means of prayer"* (Archimandrite Aimilianos of Simonopetra, "Ἡ βίωσις τῆς Μεταμορφώσεως στήν ζωή τοῦ ἁγιορείτου μοναχοῦ", *Μεταμόρφωση*, Akritas Publications, Athens 1984, p. 144).

52. P. Levi, *The Frontiers of Paradise, a Study of Monks and Monasteries*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, New York 1987, pp. 19-20.

53. A ritual is *"a codified system of practices, held under certain conditions of space and time, which is in the nature of a life experience and has symbolic value for those who conduct it and those who take part in it, and which involves the activation of the body and a certain relationship with the divine"* (J. Maisonneuve, *Les rituels*, in the "Que Sais-je" series, P.U.F., Paris 1988, p. 12). *"By carrying out symbolic acts, man relates to the cosmos and to history, from which he draws the occasions to detach himself from the usual living activities and adaptive behaviours... A symbolic approach to the invisible and the supernatural... leads to existential sharing in the life of the cosmos and the Deity... The symbolic activity thus becomes an opportunity to acquire fresh forces and these cause changes in man's being, regeneration of reorientation"* (J.-J. Wunenburger, *Le sacré*, in the series "Que Sais-je", P.U.F., Paris 1990, pp. 21-24).

Space

1. Claude Lévi-Strauss in J. Cuisenier – M.-Ch. de Tricornot, *Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires, Guide*, Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris 1987, p. 38.

2. *"Viennese chandeliers and hanging oil-lamps"*, *"silver and gold revetments made in Russia for the icons of the iconostasis"*, *"an English clock"*, *"Moscow icons"* and *'Saxon plates"* are all mentioned in the Monastery Codices.

3. *"Each theophany transforms the place in which it takes place; it elevates it from a secular space, as it formerly was, to a divine space... . A divine space draws its validity from the duration of the theophany which once sanctified it... . There, in that area, the theophany is repeated. The place is thus converted into an inexhaustible source of power and holiness which permits man, as soon as he enters it, to share in that power and commune with that holiness"*. M. Eliade, *Traité d' histoire des religions*, Payot, Paris 1947, in F. Paul-Lévy – M. Ségaud, *Anthropologie de l' espace*, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris 1983, p. 47.

4. *Ἅγιος Σίμων ὁ Ἀθωνίτης*, 1987, pp. 42-43.

5. Smyrnakis, 1988[2], pp. 93-94 (in the unpublished transcription of D.Vamvakas).

6. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

8. *"... and time and encroaching death allowed them to collect the sacred vessels and the holy relics and other valuables and lock them in the vaulted sacristy; and, with the infirm and the elderly monks, some escaped by the great gate of the Monastery, and others, the majority, through the little door to the south"* (the fire of 1891, Codex B, p. 275).

9. *"On 17 February [1877], all the monks of X[eropotamou] rose up and senior monks and young and old, and, with the labourers in the "vordonario" and in the smithies and other persons present, to a total of some 180-190, took axes and saws and pitchforks and iron bars and stakes and knives and other similar things and they suddenly attacked and laid waste vineyards, olive trees, walls, barriers and anything else they could find"* (Codex B, p. 200). This was followed by hard-fought litigation over the area (Dontas).

10. Cf. the mounted saints.

11. The Monastery's maximum production was 10,000 okas of wine and 2,000 okas of raki per year from Dontas and a further 4,000 okas of wine and 625 of raki from Ambelikia. The olive groves it owned produced 13,000 okas of oil per year during the Second World War.

12. These were outlying points in the Monastery's lands which could be controlled visually. The monks may move freely in the area between the Crosses and do not need the Abbot's blessing to do so, since they can be called back easily if they are needed. Movement outside this area requires a special blessing (i.e. permission). (Priest-monk Myron of Simonopetra, *Table of Placenames of the Holy Monastery of Simonopetra*, p. 5 of the typescript).

13. Archimandrite Aimilianos, "Ἡ βίωσις τῆς Μεταμορφώσεως στήν ζωή τοῦ Ἁγιορείτου μοναχοῦ", *Μεταμόρφωση*, Akritas Publications, Athens 1984, p. 126.

14. L. Mumford, Technique et Civilization, ed. Seuil, Paris 1950, p. 28. See also *"To the Byzantine man, as indeed to all men of the Middle Ages, the supernatural existed in a very real and familiar sense. Not only did that other world continually impinge upon everyday life; it also constituted that higher and timeless reality to which earthly existence was but a brief prelude"* (C. Mango, *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1980, p. 15).

Fig. 211 Simonopetra from the south. An old photograph (1870) from Aghiou Panteleimonos Monastery (p. 83).

Fig. 212 The Monastery from the NW. An etching from a photograph (1883) taken from A. Riley, Athos, or, the Mountain of the Monks, London 1887 (pp. 79, 252).

Fig. 213 A drawing by T. Taylor showing the Monastery in ruins after the fire of 1891 (provenance?). Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (pp. 78, 79, 83).

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Fig. 215 The katholikon from the NE, and the bell-tower (pp. 79, 83).

Fig. 214 An old photograph (taken before 1926) from the Monastery collection.
←

Fig. 217 The massive stone race ('tower') of the water-mill (p. 106).

Fig. 218 The aqueduct of the Monastery. The water was brought to the cisterns inside the Monastery by a covered conduit along its top (pp. 82, 105).

Fig. 216 The double cistern of the water-mill. At the edge, in the backgound, the top, rectangular, hole of the race (p. 106).

Fig. 219 The 'mill' of the olive press (in its present form) (p. 106).

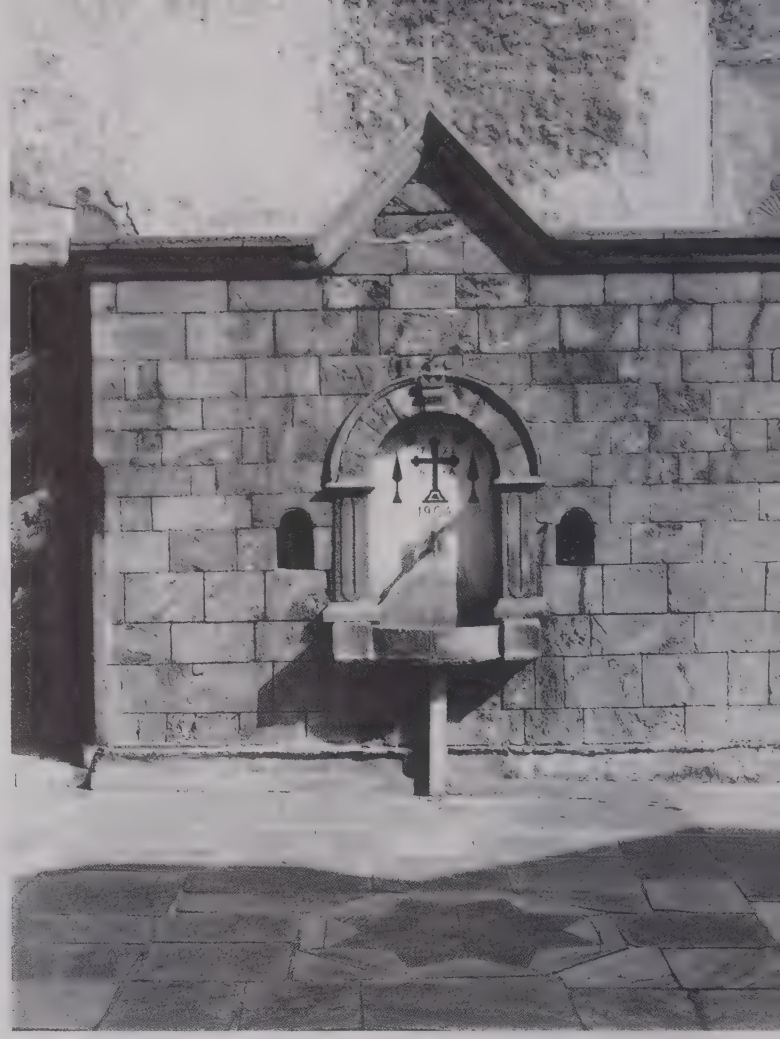


Fig. 220 Cistern built with hewn stones (1904) in the courtyard of the Monastery (pp. 83, 105).

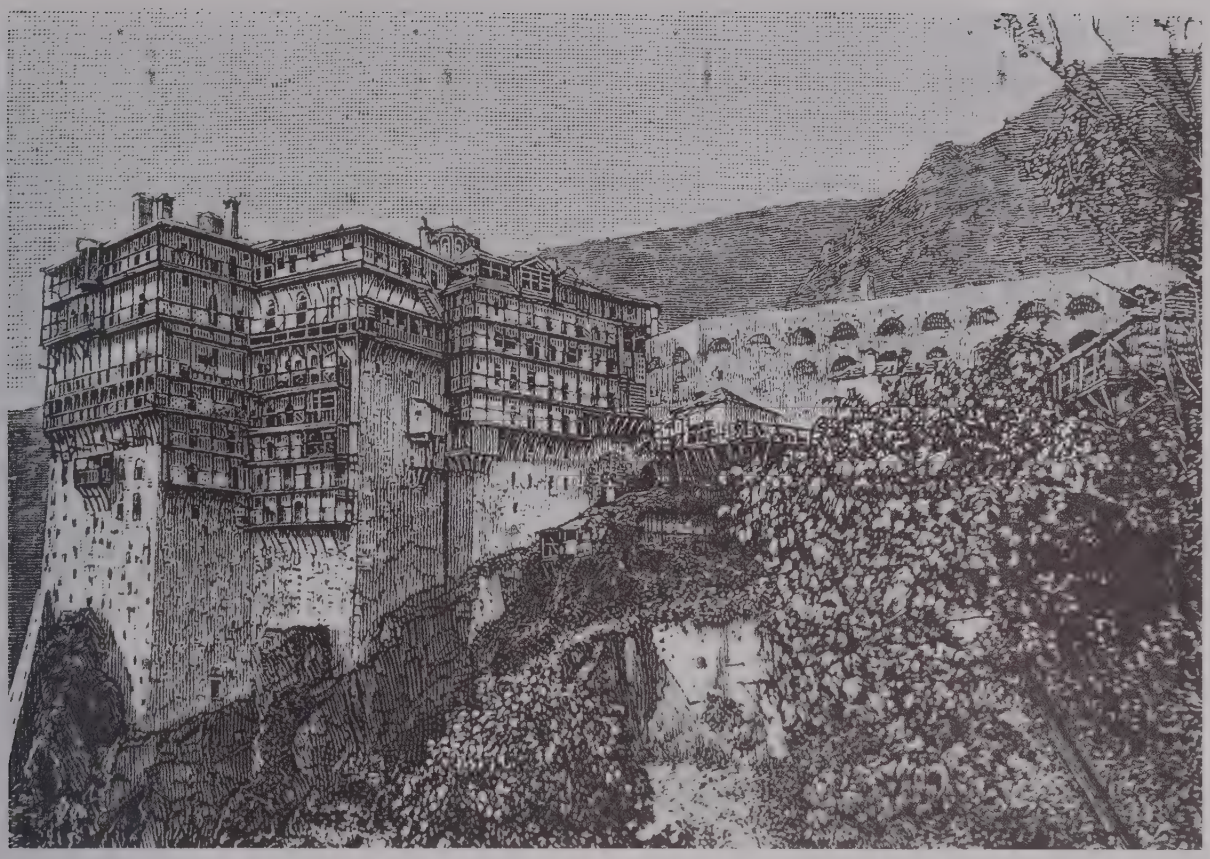


Fig. 221 An etching from a photograph by Athelstan Riley (1883), showing the Monastery from the SE before the addition of the new east wing (pp. 79, 83).

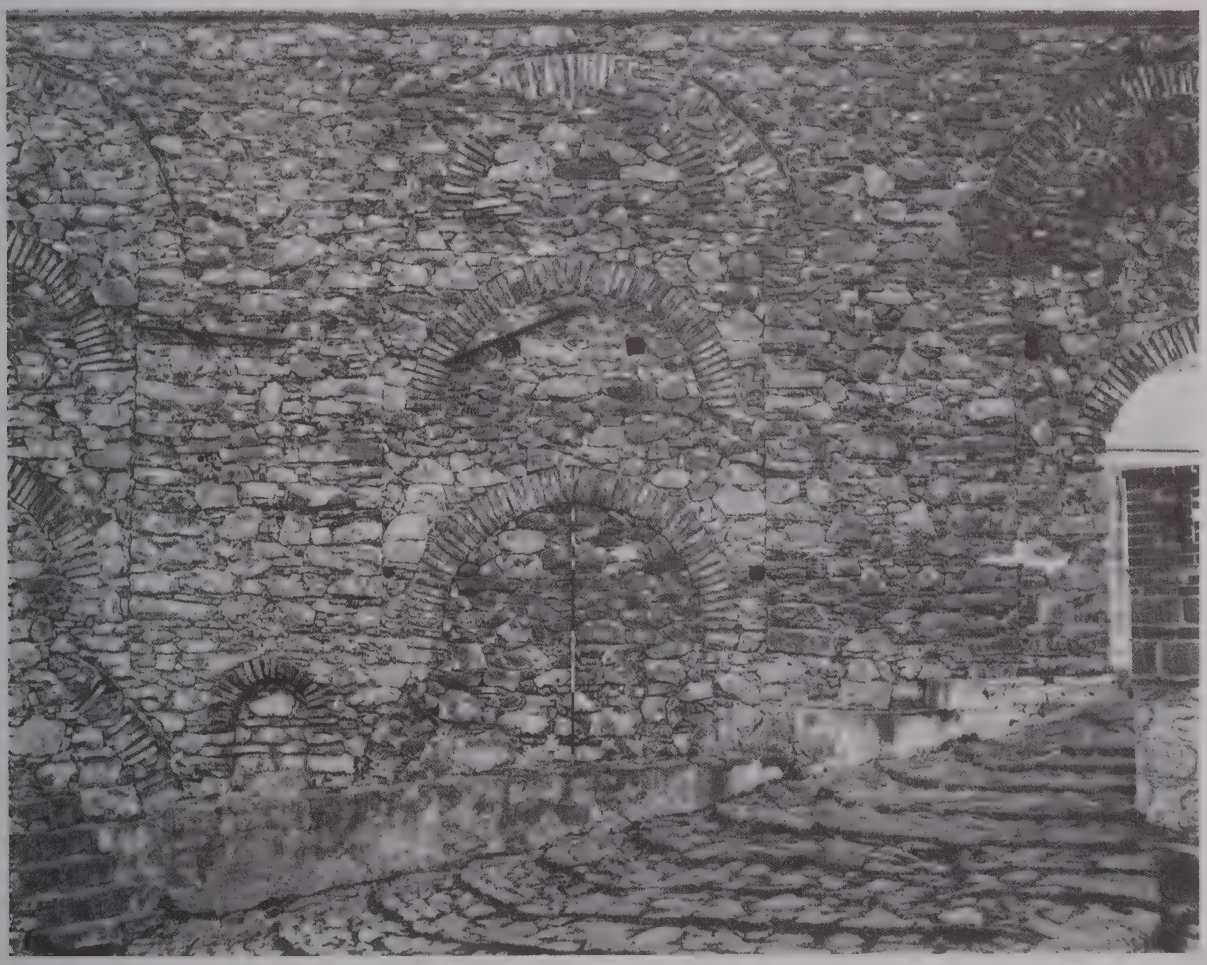


Fig. 222 Detail of the north face of the acqueduct, by the Monastery entrance (p. 78).

Fig. 223 View of the Dontas farm, from the SE (p. 85).

Fig. 224 The interior of the chapel at the kathisma of St John the Divine (p. 85).

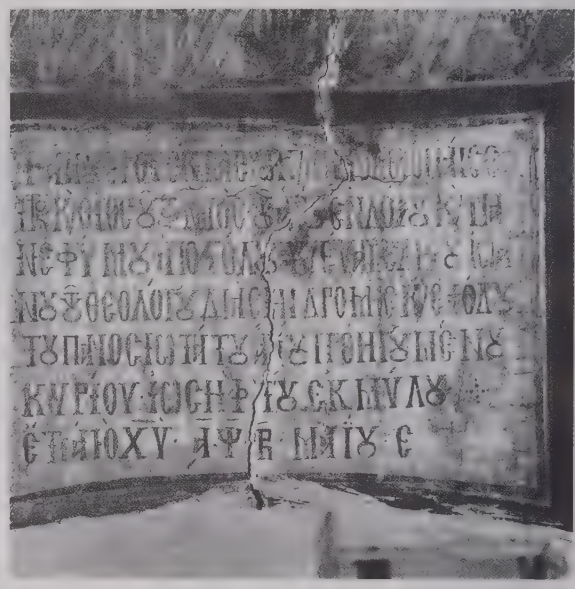


Fig. 225 The founding inscription at the St John kathisma, 1702 (p. 85)

Fig. 226 The building on the shore at Dafni, with the church of All Saints (p. 86).

Fig. 227 Ceiling in a room of the upper floor of the main building at Dontas (p. 85).

Fig. 228 Windows of the east wing of the older nucleus of the Monastery (p. 79).

Fig. 229 The east facade of the new east wing of the Monastery (p. 84)

Fig. 230 The outer room of Docheion from the entrance.

Fig. 231 The inner room of Docheion from the south (p. 79).

Fig. 232 The east facade of the 'arsanas' tower (with its entrance) (p. 84).

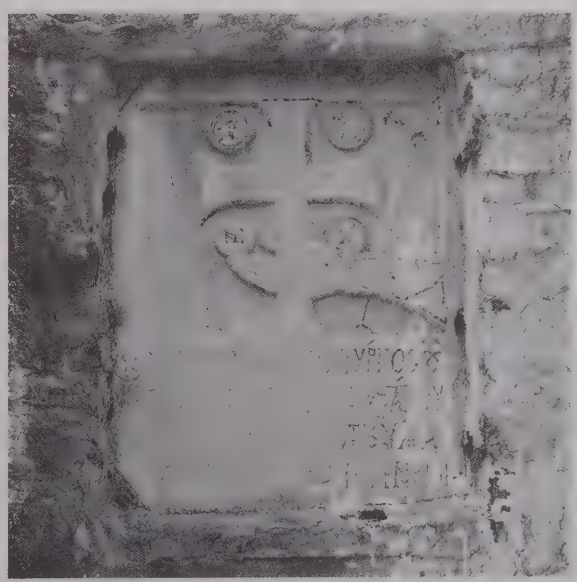


Fig. 233 The plaque with the founding inscription above the entrance, 1567 (p. 84).

Fig. 234 The vaulting in the candle-making workshop (p. 82).

Fig. 235 One of the isolation or disciplinary cells ('sophronistiria') (p. 82).

Fig. 236 The deposit pit in the candle-making workshop (p. 82).

Fig. 237 The spiral stone staircase leading down to the lower 'sophronistirion' and to the sallyport (p. 82).

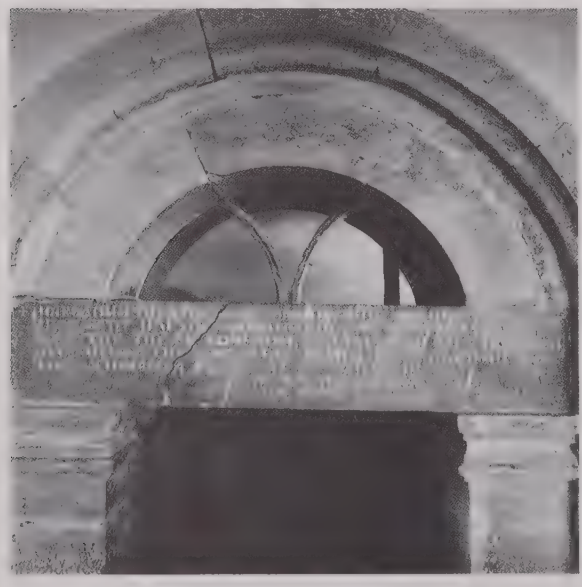


Fig. 238 The founding inscription on the west facade of the new building, 1864 (see note 29 and pp. 82, 83).

Fig. 239 Founding inscription on the W. facade of the new E. wing, 1902 (see note 39 and p. 83).

Fig. 240 The south entrance to the ground floor of the main building at Dontas, 1856 (p. 85).

Fig. 241 The west entrance to the ground floor of the main building at Dontas (p. 85).

Fig. 242 Doorway in the east facade of the new building, 1862 (p. 82).

Fig. 243 The entrance to the Refectory, 1863 (p. 83).

Fig. 244 Doorway on the upper floor of the SW corner of the Monastery (the guest-house) (p. 83).

Fig. 245 The north entrance to the 'lite' of the katholikon, built after the fire of 1891 (p. 83).

Fig. 246 Window in the south wall of the chapel in the 'arsanas' tower (see note 46).

Fig. 247 Twin windows with relieving arch in two alternating colours, on the east facade of the new building, 1862-1864 (pp. 82, 83).

Fig. 248 Window to the west of the entrance to the refectory (building phase of 1863).

Fig. 249 A typical window in the new building on the south side of the Monastery, 1862-1864 (p. 82).

Fig. 250 Window in the new east wing (west facade).

Fig. 251 Window in the new east wing (east facade).

Fig. 252 *The metal wheel of the olive-press, lying in its trough (p. 106).*

Fig. 253 *The wooden wheel of the water-powered sawmill. Its small diameter is indicative of the great force with which the water hit its blades (p. 106).*

Fig. 254 *The later horizontal metal wheel of the water-mill (p. 106).*

Fig. 255 The dam. Transverse wall with grille for filtering. From this point the water entered a closed conduit which carried it into the Monastery premises (p. 105).

Fig. 256 'Kathisma' of St John the Divine: the entrance to the tunnel for the flow of water, the channel leading out the water and the horseshoe-shaped tank built with fired clay tiles (p. 111).

15. For the mapping of the Greek world, see Anna Avramea, "Ἡ χαρτογράφηση τοῦ παράλιου χώρου" in *Ἑλληνική Ἐμπορική Ναυτιλία 1453-1850,* ed. S. Papadopoulos, National Bank of Greece, Athens 1972, pp. 179-230.

16. Papastratos, 1986 — a seminal work.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 412-413.

18. The engravings of the other great monastic *"city"*, Meteora, are also of importance in this respect. *Ibid.*, pp. 514-518.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 386, fig. 1.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

21. For the technical infrastructure of the monasteries, see also the copper engraving of the Chilandari Monastery (*ibid.*, pp. 434ff), which, *inter alia*, notes in great detail the Monastery's water supply, its two *arsanades*, the vineyard house and the grain store, the barn and the washhouse, or the copper engraving of Mega Spilaio (*ibid.*, pp. 510ff) with its *"workshops for the needs of the Monastery"*, its *"leather tannery"*, its *"workshops in which sacks are woven and ropes pleated"*, its *"smithy"* and (p. 513) *"the stone used to calculate the vernal equinox"*.

22. Ioannis Komninos gives a picture of the earthly Paradise in the description of the Vatopedi Monastery from his *Proskynitarion*: *"...there is also a large clock near the narthex, on a tall tower; and near the clock, in a row, are four chapels. This Monastery has five tall towers, and four other lower towers; and it has large and wonderful Lombardy cannons, and one of these is bigger than the others and consists of sections, most skilfully fitted together with bolts; and it has many wonderful cells in order, for the monks who wish to rest therein and live in quiet; and the rest of the monastery is beautiful and superb; that is, its infirmary, its tailor's shop, its olive press, and all the other places, together with the rooms in the great Laura; and the site of the Monastery is very fine, and it is adorned on all sides with beautiful and fruitful trees, and with bitter orange trees, and cypresses; with beautiful orchards; and on the right-hand side of the Monastery is the arsanas; and on the left-hand side is the cemetery of the fathers; and near the great gate of the Monastery is a spacious font, and deep down, below this, is a mill, which works with the water that accumulates in the font; and the chapels inside and outside the Monastery total fourteen in number. And the harbour is most wonderful, and spacious. And in various places outside the Monastery there are sketes, and kellia, and towers, and mills, and retreats, with the most beautiful orchards and vineyards; and this Monastery is beautiful and a wonderful sight in all respects, so that the human tongue can with difficulty describe it in a manner worthy; but let that which is set down here suffice"*. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, *Προσκυνητάριον τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους τοῦ Ἄθωνος*, 1701 (1984), pp. 54-55.

23. Vasily Barskij, "Περί τοῦ μοναστηρίου τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Σιμόπετρα", *Ἐποπτεία* 96 (December 1984), p. 1194, *"Western"* has been corrected to *"eastern"* in accordance with Barskij's own note on the drawing and in line with the drawing itself.

24. Curzon's drawing (fig. 10) comes down to us from a different age and another world. Here the landscape has been transformed into a symbol of exaltation, and the drawing is evidence primarily of the artistic tendencies of the day and of the artist's mood. The ideal world of the engravings becomes here a pretty subject for a picture.

25. My thanks to my colleague I. Papaggelos for identifying and interpreting the markings on the map.

26. Papastratos, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

27. *Funerary service for monks, supplemented in accordance with the order of the Holy Monasteries of Mount Athos, published by the Zealot Fathers* Mt Athos, 1987, pp. 19 and 8.

The Architecture of the Monastery

1. Orlandos 1958, pp. 27-30.

2. Theocharidis 1982 (Gregoriou), pp. 247-248 and note 8. Theocharidis 1988.

3. Antonin Kapustin 1864, p. 278 (?), and Uspenskij 1877, pp. 141-142.

4. In the case of Gregoriou, this took place gradually, first in the second half of the 18th century and then in the late 19th century. In the case of Aghiou Pavlou, the extension was built in the first half of the 19th century (see note 2, above).

5. It was not possible, for the purposes of this study, to carry out anything more than observation of the surface of the buildings. A decisive role would be played in a full investigation of the constructional history of the complex by the sort of detailed historical analysis of the structure which, for practical reasons, can only occur during the course of reinforcement and restoration work. At such times, when the body of the building is open to view, a stratigraphic record of the structures, of their remnants and of the traces they have left, makes it possible to draw exact chronological correlations, to observe and analyse their particular features and to reconstruct lost constructional elements or even entire building phases. See Theocharidis 1982 (Docheiariou), pp. 184-189. Unfortunately, however, the speed and manner of repair work on the buildings of Mount Athos today do not ensure that it is possible to record and preserve the history of the area's architecture. (See Theocharidis, "Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονική κληρονομιά τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους", *Παρατηρητής*, Thessaloniki, issue 18-19, 1991, pp. 25-33).

6. Kašić 1976, p. 40.

7. The position within the Monastery complex of the Byzantine water tank is not clear today. Perhaps at this time activities outside the Monastery relied on a cistern on approximately the same site as that which stands today against the south side of the aqueduct, since the latter appears to be related to the level of the first phase in the building of the aqueduct. The south face of this cistern was probably built around 1800.

8. This information is to be found in the Jerusalem Codex, no. 370, see C. Patrinelis in this volume, p. 20, who placed his unpublished material at my disposal.

9. Theocharidis 1982 (Dionysiou), pp. 448-454.

10. *"... while the walls thereof, we might say, fell as did those of Jericho of old, from the foundations"*, as we read in a document of the Holy Council of Athos, dated 1580/81, line 10 (for a summary, see Vamvakas 1985, pp. 124-126), cf. Smyrnakis 1903, pp. 133-134.

11. Barskij 1887, p. 353. Iakovos Neaskitiotis 1855, p. 178 (?). Codex B, p. 89. Nonetheless, to reconstruct the old refectory as a vaulted structure is not without its problems. First of all, Barskij's drawing shows two dormer windows

on the roof of the refectory, the form of which suits a wooden roof rather than a vaulted structure. Furthermore, the beginnings, in a southerly direction, of a large arch (part of a barrel-vault?) which have survived at the western extremity of the north wall, in the refectory service area, probably belong to the old kitchen, which appears to have been located in this area (see below, in the text).

12. The Turkish documents relating to the Monastery have never been published and were recently catalogued by Prof. V. Dimitriadis, whose readings and summaries I have used. Here the reference is to hüccet no. 3 (March 1569, 'vakıfnâme') and to firman no. 20 (June 1632). See also Barskij 1887, p. 351.

13. See *Traditional Greek Architecture,* vol. 8, ed. Melissa, Athens 1991, pp. 256-260, 264. The arcades of the east wing continued along the north side.

14. Unfortunately, the rubble was removed without the care of an archaeological excavation and thus the chance was lost to read some of the chapters in the history of the buildings of the 16th and 17th century, which were burned in 1891, and of the Byzantine vestiges which can now be identified in this part of the Monastery.

15. Similar temporary solutions, which became necessary during the course of progressive extension, have also been identified in the constructional history of other Athonite monasteries; see, for example, Theocharidis 1982 (Gregoriou) and Theocharidis (Xeropotamou).

16. Komninos 1984, p. 83, Barskij 1887, pp. 351-353, Iakovos Neaskitiotis 1855.

17. For a short account of *'typikaria'*, see Kizis, 1982, p. 161.

18. Vlachos 1903, p. 266. The dimensions of the plaque are 43.5 x 43.5 cm. Another old plaque of exactly the same dimensions has been reinstalled in the more recent floor of the church (in the SW corner, under the stalls); it bears a flower and vase motif in low relief. This plaque can be identified with one of those referred to by Komninos (p. 83) and Barskij (p. 352) when they describe the old floor of the church, in which case it is very probable that it and the plaque with the inscription belong to the same building phase. This is one more piece of evidence to support the accuracy of the rendering of the inscription in the katholikon. The text of the inscription is as follows: ΑΧΛΓ - ΕΝΤΑ ΦΙΑ//ΣΤΙ ὍΤΟC ΟΘΙΟCϘ // ΠΑΝΤΙ//MOCNAOC · Τὸ ΜΕΓΑΛὍ [...] Ϙ//COTIPOC · HMON: [IC XC;] ΗΓὍΜΕΝΕΒΓΟΝΤΑC · ΤΙ//ΜΟΘΕο · ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝ[Α]Χὸ // ΑΠΟΧΡΟΝΟΠΡΟΚΤΙCΤΙΚΙ // ΦΙΤΑΔΕ Τὸ ΕΤὍC [ΜΛΚ..]. *(...(1633 - this divine and very Holy Church of our great... and saviour Jesus Christ was inaugurated[?] when the priest-monk Timotheos was Abbot [after being built some time before?] [in that year?] [illegible]).*

19. In the document of the Holy Council of Mount Athos (1580/81), see note 10, above. The corresponding Turkish permits (hüccet no. 9, August 1581, and firman no. 16, May 1626) note that only the wooden windows and the doors of the katholikon had been burned.

20. Murasele no. 14 (April 1594) and hüccet no. 41 (August 1622).

21. Komninos 1984, p. 84.

22. Cf. P. Gounarides, '' Ὁ Ἅγιος Παῦλος καί ἡ Μονή Ξηροποτάμου'', *Σύμμεικτα* 8 (1989), p. 137.

23. Hüccet no. 47 (January 1632). This document refers to the repair of the aqueduct and describes it as already having *''40 arches''* - that is, approximately as many as it has today. It could, then, be supposed that the second phase of the building might have been higher than can be concluded today (see above, in the text). On the other hand, it is possible that behind this written permit lies an upward extension of the structure which was being granted tacit permission in the statement that the aqueduct was already at the height it was soon afterwards to assume.

24. Codex A, pp. 68-69, 92, Codex B, p. 89.

25. A copper engraving of 1836 (see fig. 2), a depiction of the Monastery dating from 1837 (see fig. 10, Curzon 1849), which is idealised but roughly correct, and the pictures of Edward Lear (1856, see fig. 1).

26. See hüccet no. 9 (August 1581).

27. Barskij 1887, p. 353, Didron 1864, p. 189.

28. See, for example, Moutsopoulos 1966, Moutsopoulos 1976, Riza 1981.

29. It is located on the second top floor and its text runs as follows: Η ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΟΡΩΜΕΝΗΣ ΜΕΣΗΜΒΡΙΝΗΣ // ΠΡΟΣΘΕΤΟΥ ΠΛΕΥΡΑΣ ΗΡΞΑΤΟ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΗΓὍΜΕΝΕΙΑΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ // ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΚΩΜΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΑΤΣΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΛΕΙΩΘΗ // ΔΙΑ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΙΔΙΑΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΟΠΙΩΝΤΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ 1864 ΑΠΡΙΛΙΩα // ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΤΕΚΤΟΝΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝὍ ΣΤΥΛΙΑΝὍ // ΑΠΟ ΧΩΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΕΛΚΑΜΕΝ ΤΗΣ ΦΛΩΡΙΝΑΣ. (*The building of the present western additional wing was begun under Abbot Dominus Neophytos from the town of Alatsata and was completed at the expense of the Holy Monastery itself and with the contribution of the labours of the brethren 1864 April 1 by the mason Ioannis Stylianou from the village of Belkamen, Florina*).

30. Codex B, p. 94.

31. For Mt Athos, see *Traditional Greek Architecture*, vol. 8, ed. Melissa, Athens 1991, p. 265. For Halkidiki, see Moutsopoulos 1977 and Moutsopoulos 1979 (the relevant tables). For the itinerant gangs of builders of NW Greece, see Moutsopoulos 1976.

32. See the dates of the inscriptions in illus. 4 and figs 243, 248.

33. Iakovos Neaskitiotis 1865, pp. 170-171. See also the chimney in fig. 7.

34. Codex B, p. 6.

35. In a printed circular letter in Russian conveying the Monastery's thanks and best wishes to benefactors, there is a picture of the gutted building showing the lower part of the new east wing under construction, clad in scaffolding and perhaps with a temporary roof.

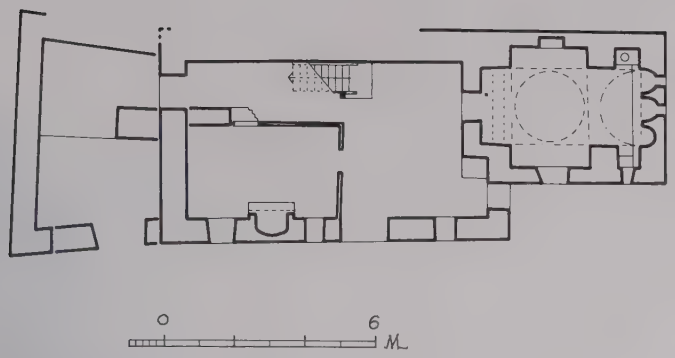
36. As witnessed by the inscriptions to be found at various points in the building (see, for example, illus. 20 and fig. 239).

37. Papaggelos ed., 1985-86, pp. 98-102.

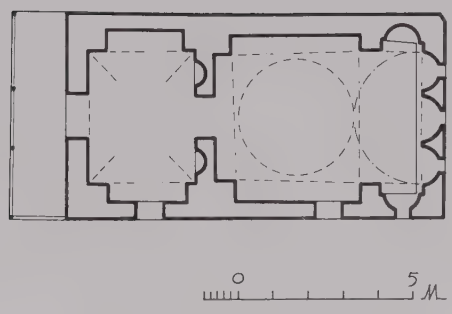
38. Dmitrievskij 1891, p. 1023 (?), Vlachos 1903 p. 265, and cf. also the circular letter of note 35, above.

39. The inscription is on the top floor, above the lintel of the entrance from the courtyard (fig. 239). The text runs as follows: 19+02 // ΑΝΗΓΕΡΘΗ ΕΚ ΒΑΘΡΩΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΠΡΟ//ΣΘΗΚΗΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΗΓὍΜΕΝΕΙΑΣ ΝΕΟΦΥΤὍ // ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤὍ Τὸ ΕΞ ΑΛΑΤΣΑΤΩΝ // ΙΩΣΗΦ Α. ΤΕΧΝΗΛΟ// ΜΗΣΕ Χ ΓΟΣΤΗΒΗΣΤΗ (*1902 Reconstructed from the foundations with an addition when Archimandrite Neophytos of Alatsata was Abbot . Iosif A. built it with skill Ch. Gostivisti*)

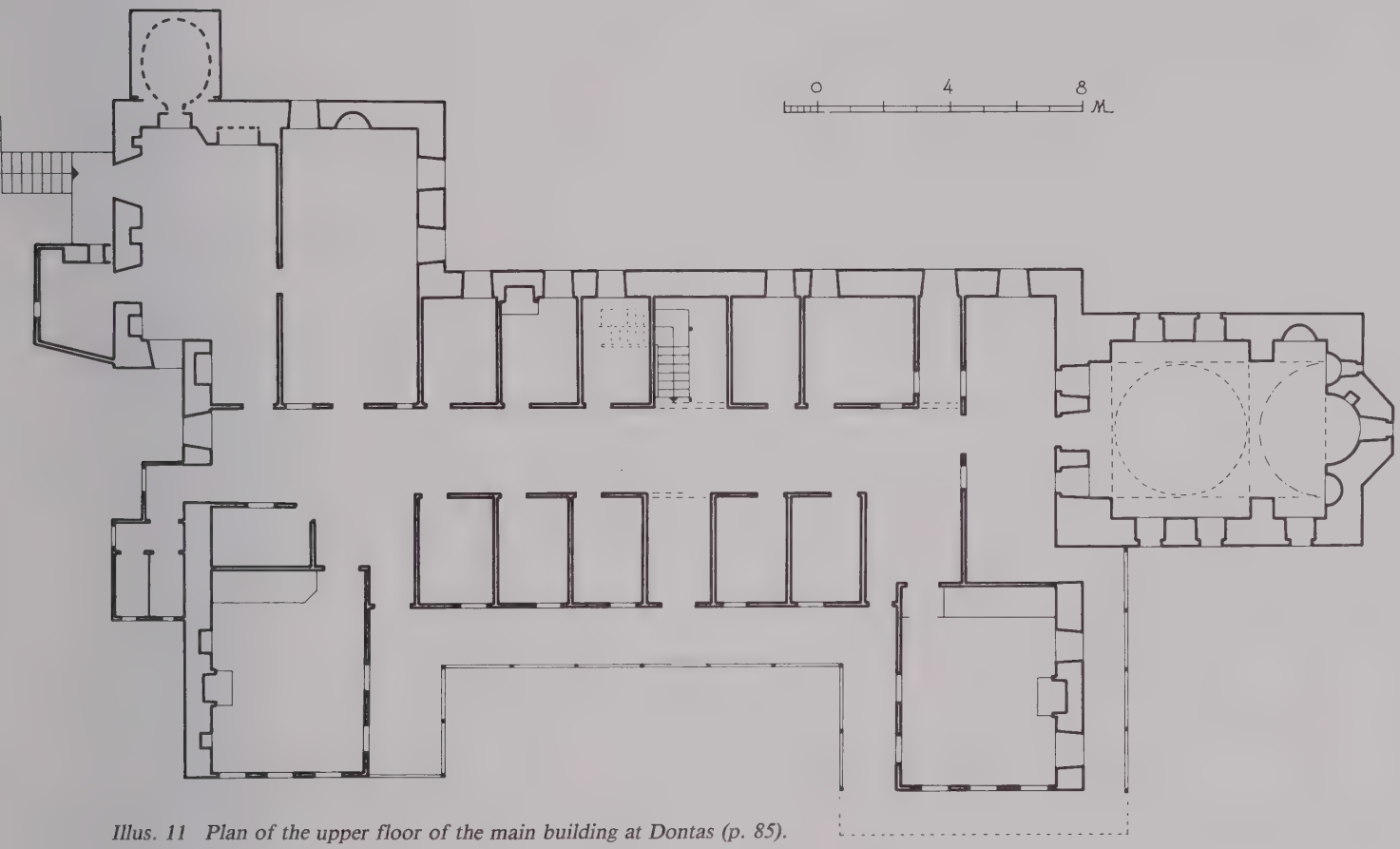
40. The masons carved on the stone surfaces a whole host of decorative motifs and symbols (see, for example, illus. 19, 20 and figs 250, 251). Some similar carvings are to be seen on the seafront building at Daphni (1895-1896), which was most probably constructed by the same craftsmen, and at *metochia* of the period (e.g., on the storehouse of the Vatopedi metochi at Ammouliani, dating from 1896).



Illus. 9 Floor plan of the St John the Divine 'kathisma' (p. 85).



Illus. 10 Floor plan of the cemetery chapel (p. 84).

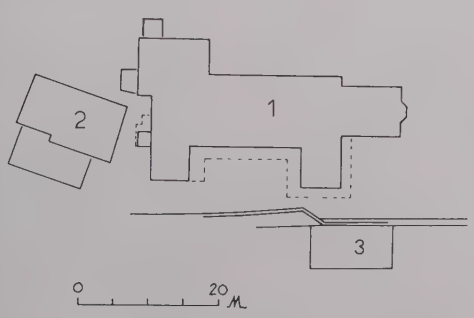


Illus. 11 Plan of the upper floor of the main building at Dontas (p. 85).

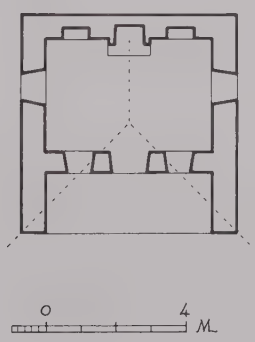
Illus. 12 Topographical sketch of the Dontas buildings (p. 85).

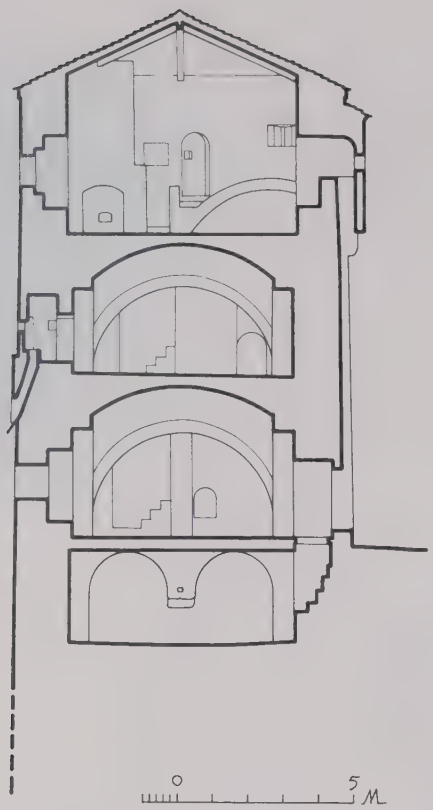
LEGEND

1. *Main building*
2. *Wine press*
3. *Stable*

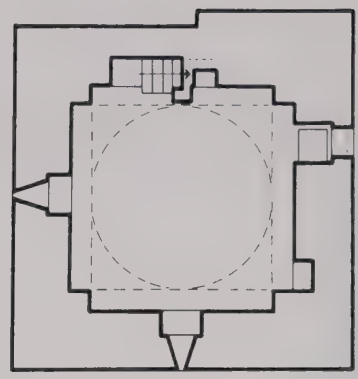


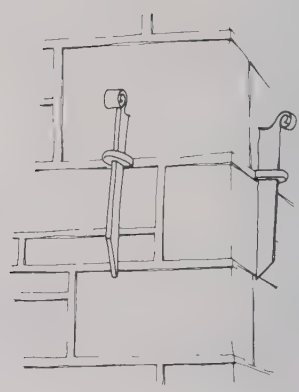
Illus. 13 Sketch of the floor plan of the 'kourtzidiko' (p. 86).



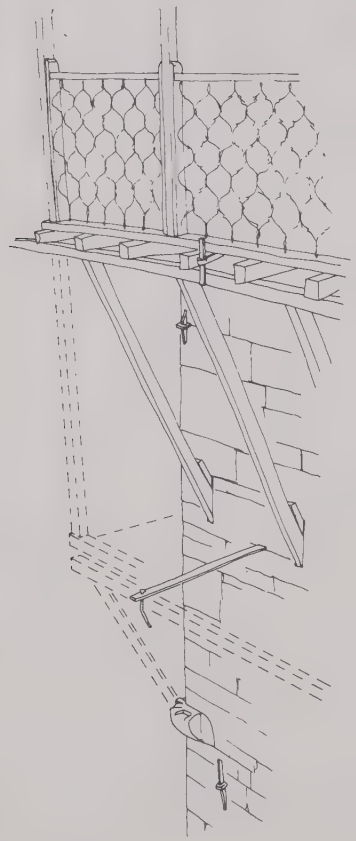


Illus. 14-15 Section and floor plan (at the entrance level) of the arsanas tower (p. 84).

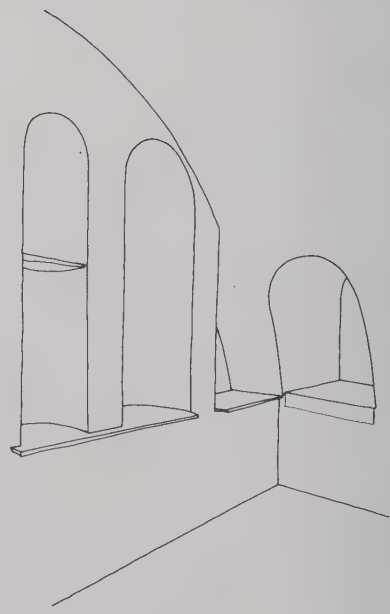




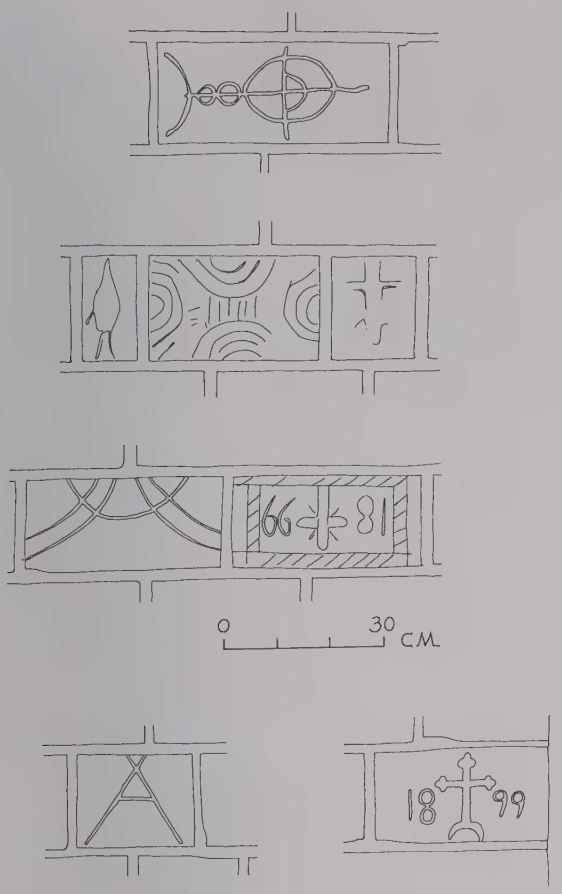
Illus. 17 Iron tie-beams on the NE corner of the new east wing, 1897-1902.

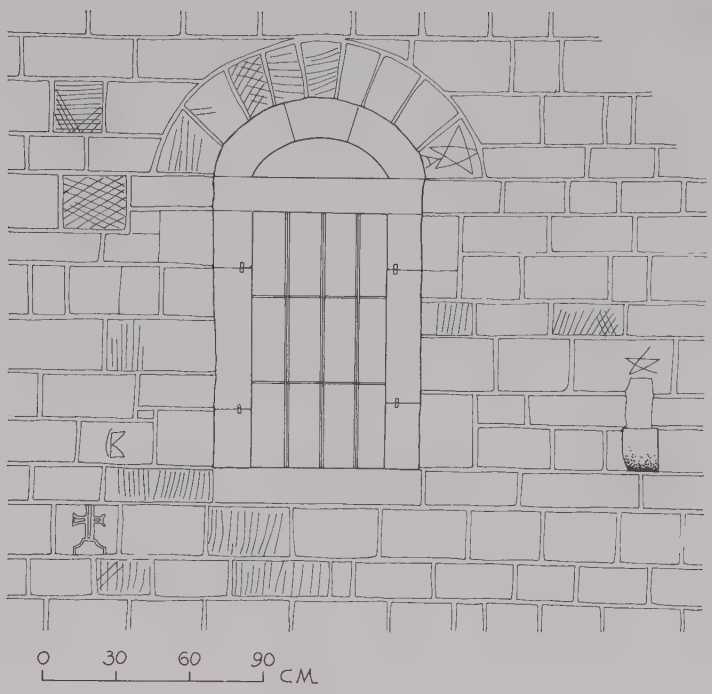


Illus. 16 Balconies and iron tie-beams on the SE corner of the new building of 1862-1864 (p. 82).

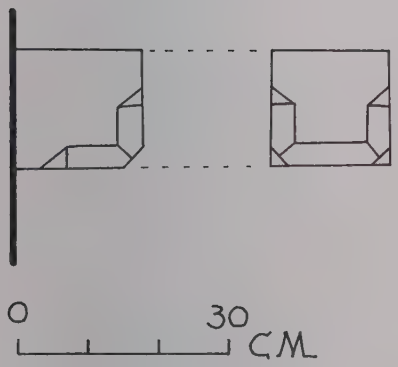


Illus. 18 The apses of the original chapel of St George (16th century), in the SE corner of the chapel below the refectory which bears that name today (p. 82).

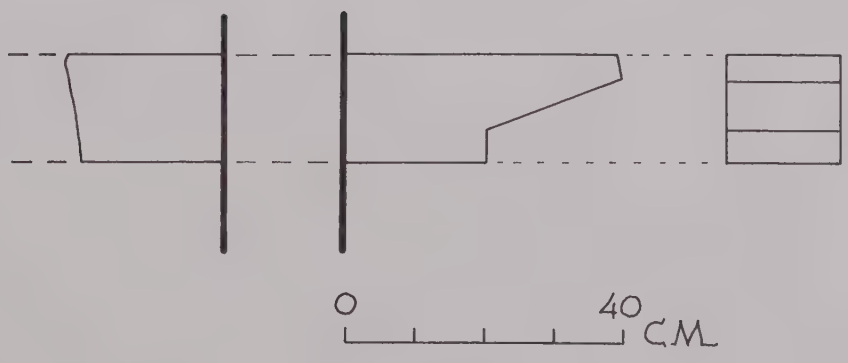




Illus. 19-20 Carvings executed by the masons on the east side of the new east wing, 1897-1902 (See note 40).



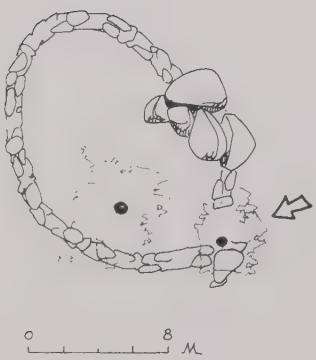
Illus. 21 Decoration on the rafter ends of the arsanas building (See note 45).



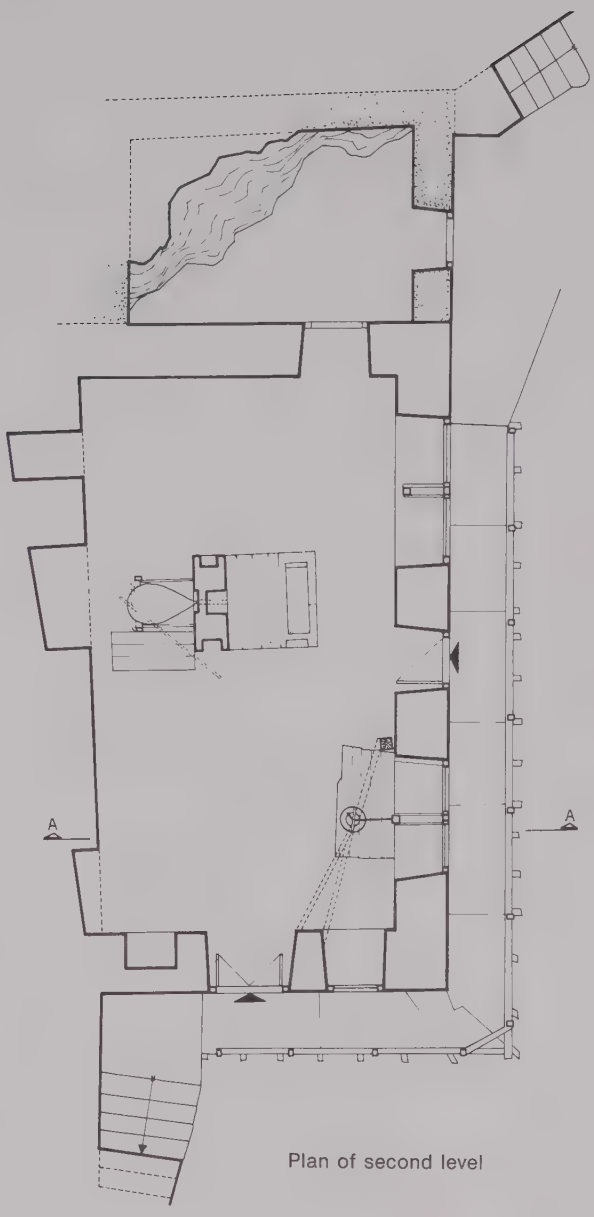
Illus. 22 A wooden column capital re-used in the wine-press building at Dontas (See note 51 and p. 85).

Illus. 23 The western facades of the old washhouse and the 'vordonario' before their gutting by fire (p. 84).

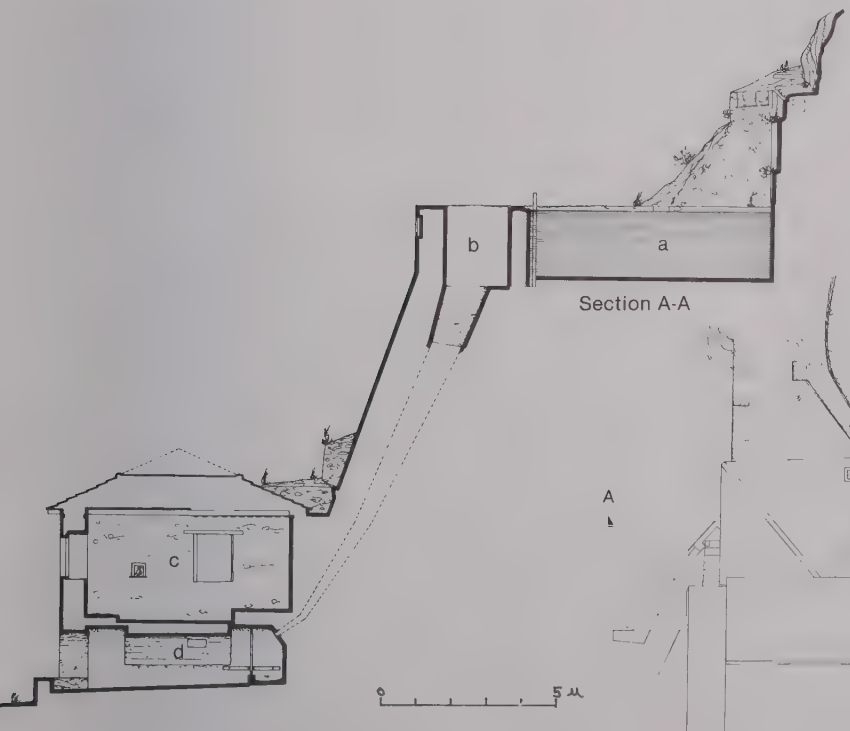
Illus. 24 The St John the Divine 'kathisma' from the SW; the western extremity of the building is a reconstruction (p. 85).



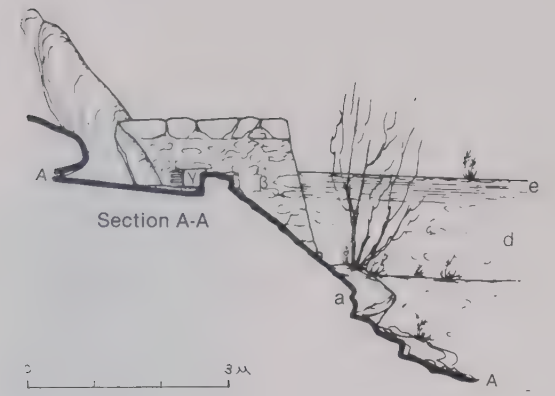
Illus. 25 Sketch plan of the 'voros' building (p. 85).

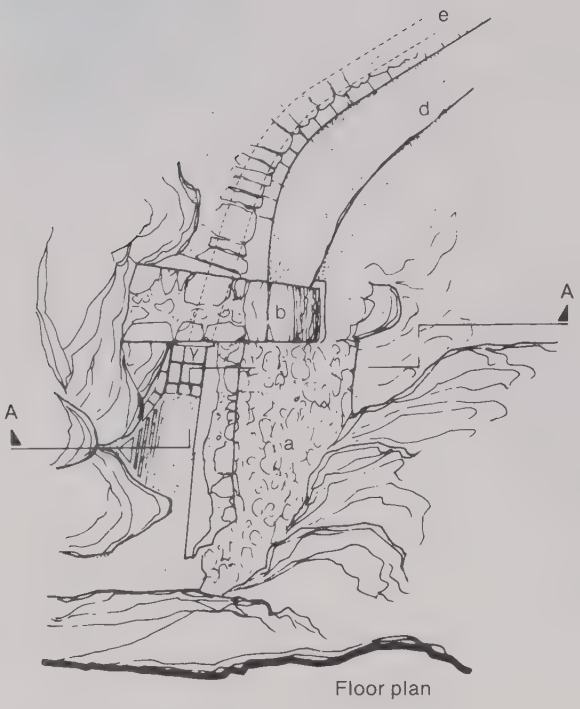


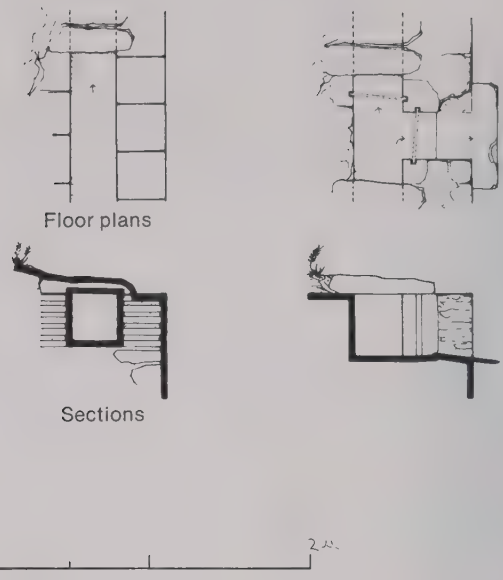
Illus. 26 The smithy of Simonopetra: view and plan (p. 84).



Illus. 27 Section and plan of the Monastery's water-mill: a. Double cistern; b. Race; c. Upper storey; d. Location of wheel (p. 106).

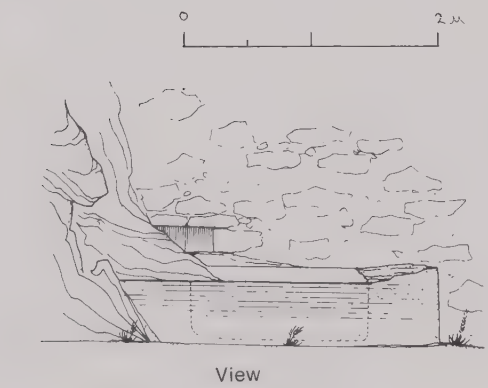


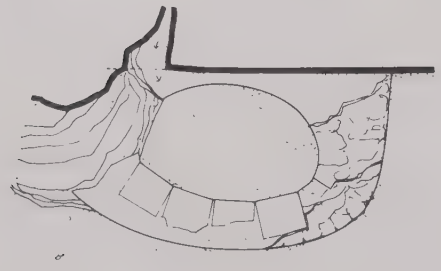


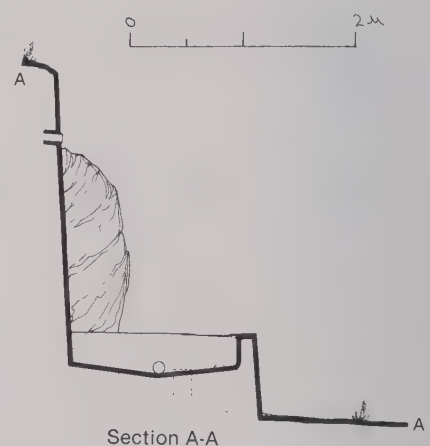


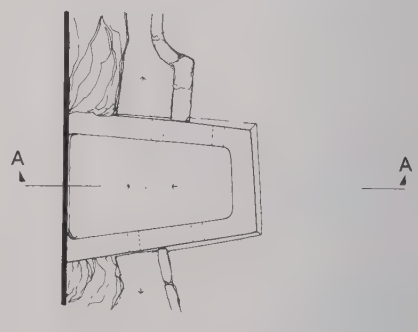
Illus. 28 *Plan and section of the dam used for the water supply of the Monastery: a. Masonry; b. Transverse wall; c. Filtering grille; d. Conduit support wall; e. Closed conduit lined with fired clay tiles (p. 105).*

Illus. 29 *Representative plans and sections of the closed conduit lined with fired clay tiles which brought the water from the dam to the aqueduct and other installations of the Monastery (p. 105).*



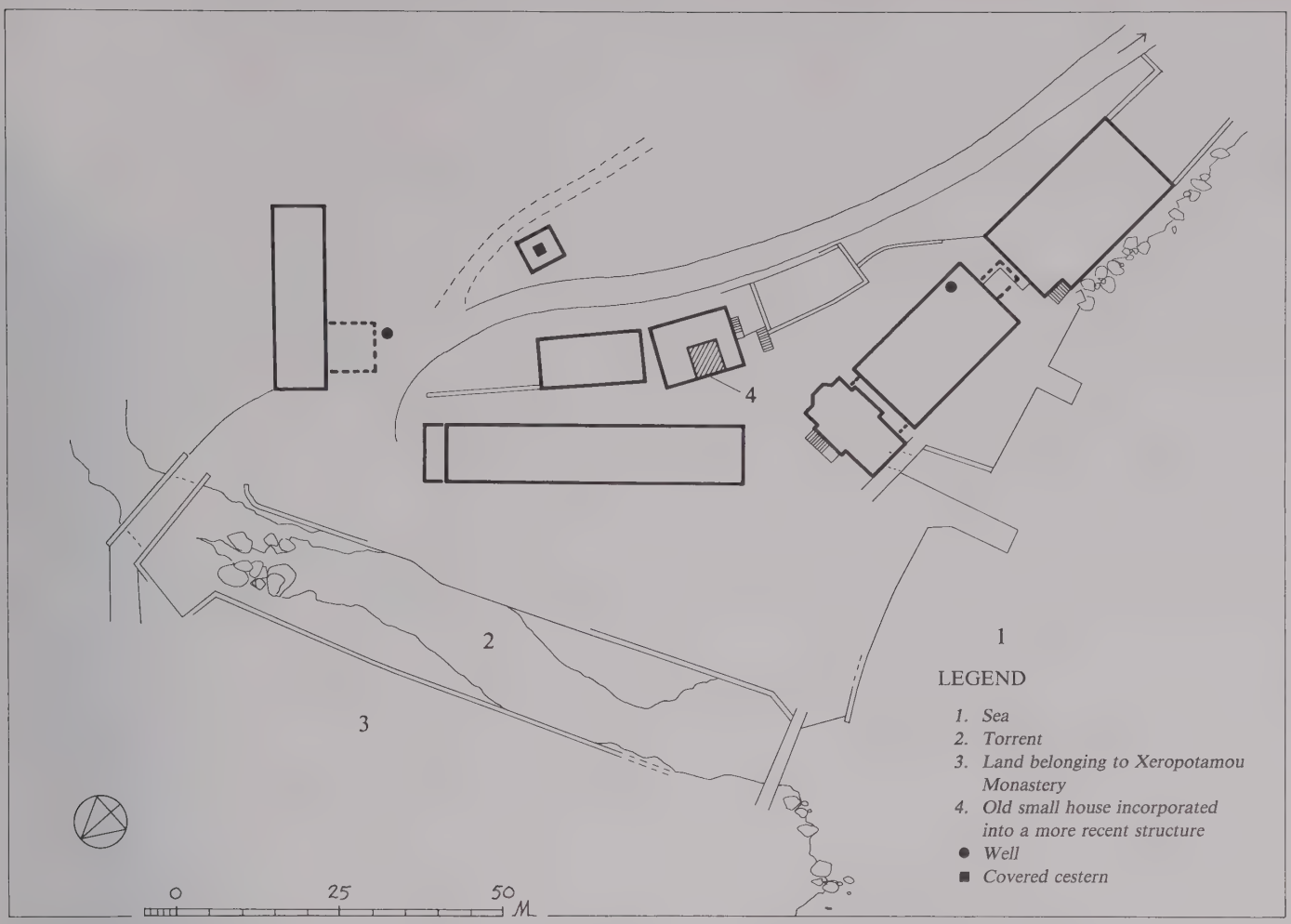




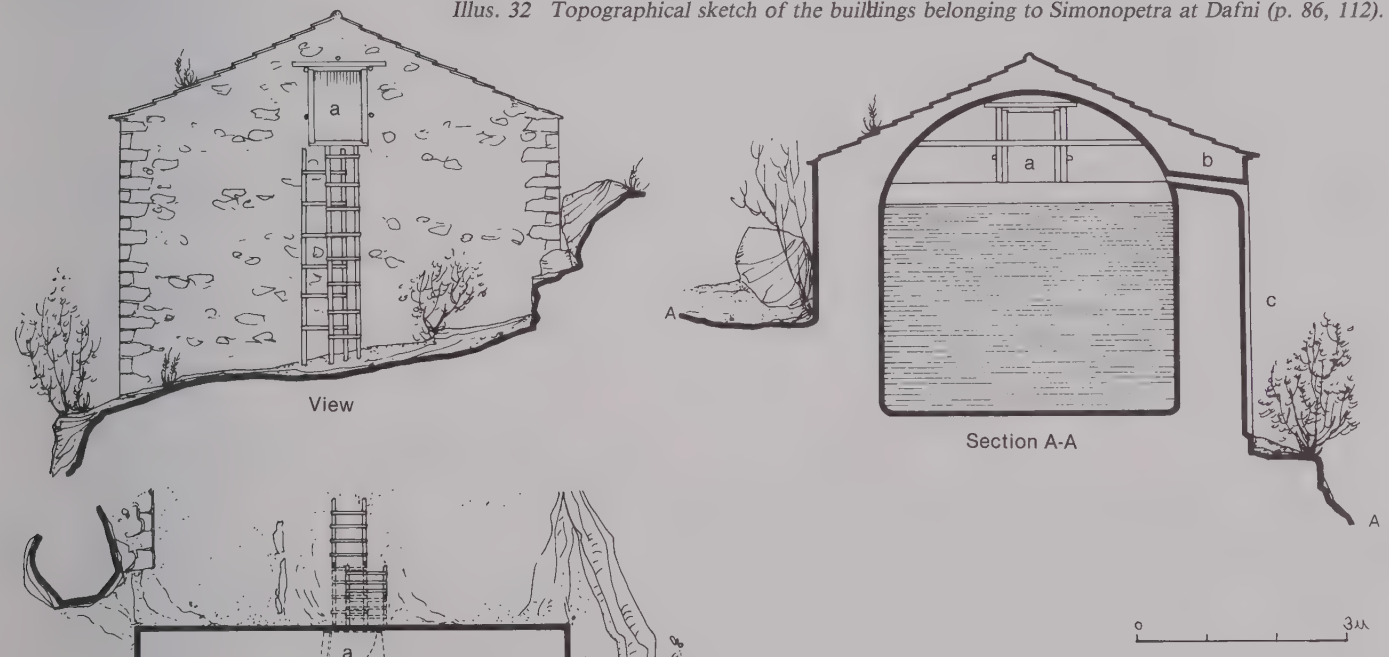


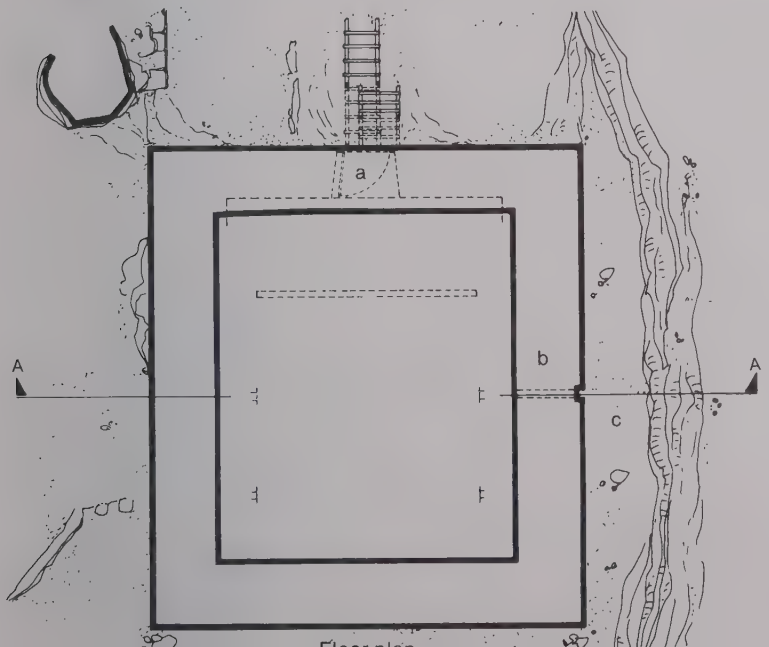
Illus. 30 *'Spring on the big terrace' in the Monastery's gardens: view and plan (p. 111).*

Illus. 31 *Valve for watering on the terraces of the Monastery's gardens. These valves controlled the distribution of the water through channels at their own level and the supply to the next valve on the terrace below (p. 106).*

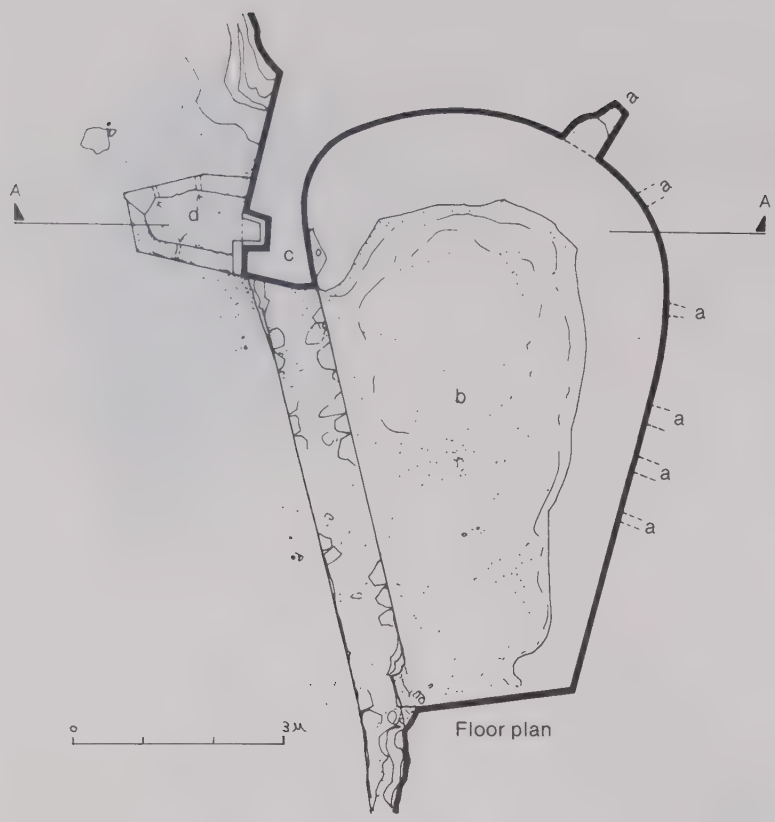


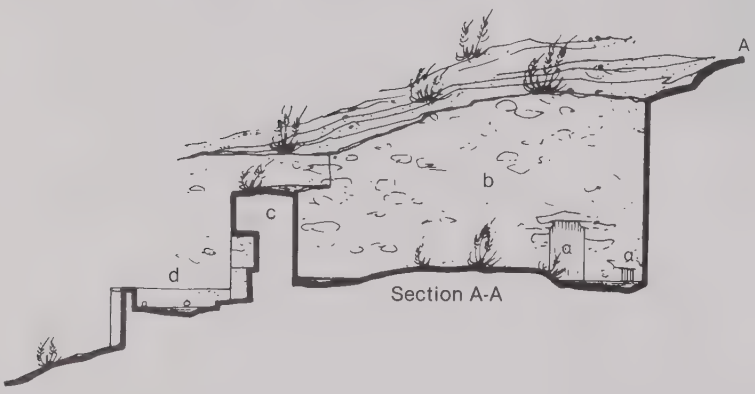
Illus. 32 Topographical sketch of the buildings belonging to Simonopetra at Dafni (p. 86, 112).



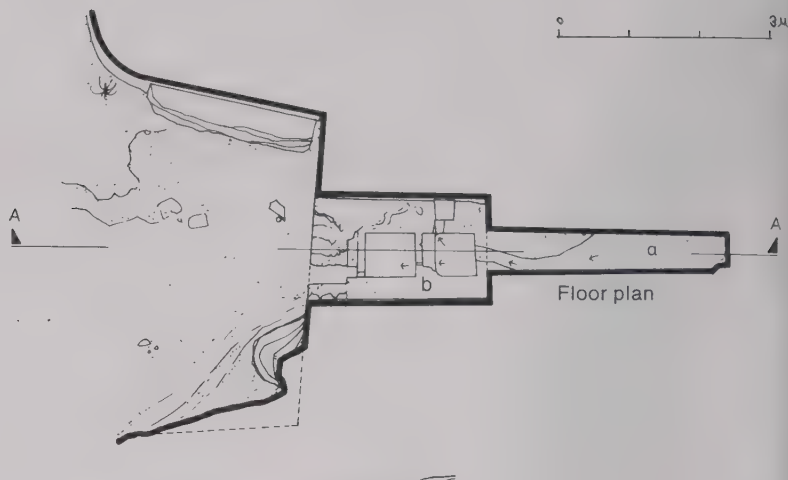


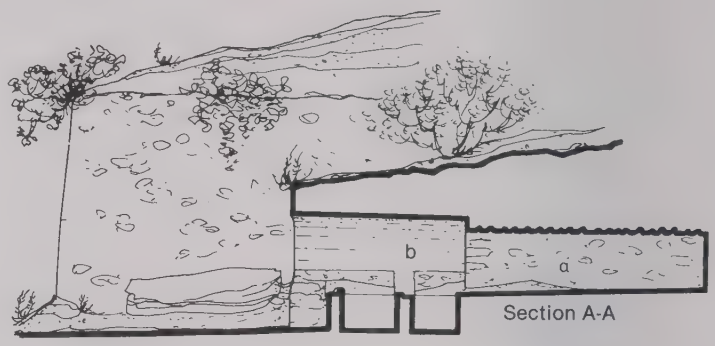
Illus. 33 Vaulted raised cistern at Dafni: view, plan and section:
a. Inspection opening;
b. Overflow;
c. pipe built into the masonry (p. 112).

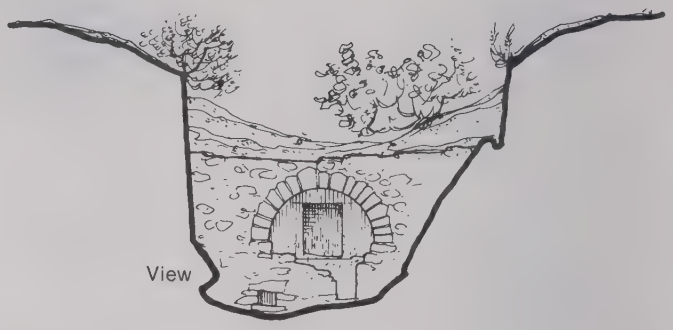




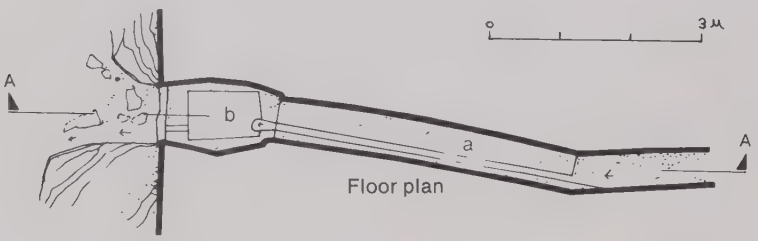
Illus. 34 Spring and cistern at Dontas: plan and section. a. Water inlets; b. Cistern; c. Spring; d. Basin (p. 112).

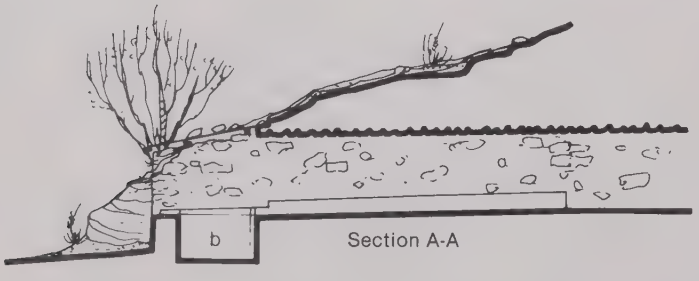


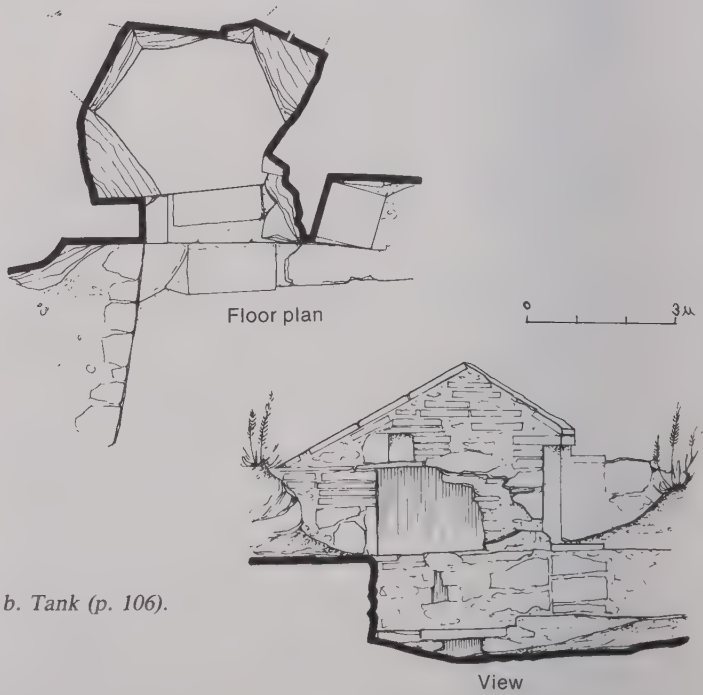




Illus. 35 Vaulted spring at Dontas: plan, section and view. a. Tunnel; b. Double cistern with drain (p. 111).







Illus. 36 'Upper holy water of St Simon': plan and section. a. Artificial tunnel; b. Tank (p. 106).

Illus. 37 'Lower holy water of St Simon': plan and view (p. 106).

41. S. Mamaloukos – P. Koufopoulos, a volume concerning the old smithies of Mt Athos, currently in press (ETBA Cultural Foundation).

42. The date was incised in fresh plaster inside the upper floor.

43. See, for example, the Xeropotamou cemetery chapel, Polyviou 1989.

44. Millet – Pargoire – Petit 1904, p. 180 (no. 536). See also C. Patrinelis, in this volume, p. 20.

45. And particularly from the decoration on the inner ends of the short rafters on either wall between the main roof beams (see illus. 21). This type of decoration is typical of the early Turkish period on Mt Athos and is familiar to us from numerous examples. However, by the first half of the 18th century it had become not only rare but also poorly-executed. It seems very likely that the *arsanas* building was completed at some point during the first half of the 17th century, and that it may be connected with hüccet no. 35 (August 1612), by which permission was given for repair work to be carried out to the monastery complex and the arsanas.

46. The window of the south wall preserves unspoiled a wooden frame whose form shows that it must be the original. This very rare example of a complete 16th century window frame (with the exception of the leaf containing the pane, which is a more recent addition) can be seen in fig. 246.

47. Theocharidis, *Macedonia* (in press), and Theocharidis 1982 (Dionysiou), pp. 452, 458 and 466-468.

48. For a brief examination of the question, see *Traditional Greek Architecture,* vol. 8, ed. Melissa, Athens 1991, pp. 276, 278-285.

49. See the founding chrysobull, Kašić 1976, p. 42.

50. Hüccet no. 3 (March 1569).

51. For the form of this column capital, see Theocharidis 1982 (Dionysiou), pp. 449-454, 460.

52. Codex B, p. 12. The building bears inscriptions of 1895.

53. Smyrnakis 1903, p. 594.

54. See illus. 7. The text of this note is by V. Yiannakis and P. Kaloyeridis.

According to our information, the foundations for the olive-press were laid in 1851.

It consists of a basement, a ground floor, which contained the water-powered mill, the old olive-press, the wine-press and the raki still, and a first floor, which served as a storage space for the olives and as accommodation for the workmen. Before 1880 a wooden structure was added to the north eastern part of the building to house the mill used to produce flour for altar breads, which operated in the same way as the water-powered olive-press, that is, it was powered by the same vertical screw. It was possible to disengage the one mill from the other. After 1953, as a result of needs created by a bumper olive harvest, some modernisation of the oil-producing machinery took place, but without this being accompanied by any significant changes in the structure of the building. The water-powered mill and the press were supplemented and then replaced by a mechanically-powered mill and a hydraulic press. At this time, the old raki still with the retorts was changed and in its place a new one with an evaporator and distillation flask came into use.

Certain minor repairs and additions have been made to the building, but it is not possible to date these.

(Text and drawings: V. Yiannakis, P. Kaloyeridis).

V.Yiannakis, P. Kaloyeridis, I. Niaouris, S. Parcharidis, A. Spiliopoulos, *Maintenance of Buildings on the Holy Mountain: the Olive-Presses of Simonopetra and Stavroniketa,* degree thesis in the 2nd Sector of the School of Architecture, Thessaloniki Technical University. Supervisors Profs. G. Lavvas and G. Karadedos.

Human Spatial Organisation in the Area of the Monastery

1. For the types of monastic foundation on Mt Athos and the organisation of their function see Mylonas 1963 and Kordosis 1976.

2. Theocharidis 1982 (Dionysiou), fig. 9 on p. 465.

3. This was the building added in 1862-1864 on the south side of the Monastery; see fig. 41 and figs 234-238.

Water Supply - Irrigation - Water Power

1. This chapter presents the results of a personal investigation of the area and the Monastery's archives which I conducted in October 1989 with the help of Fathers Galaction, Elisaios, Ioustinos, Vissarion, Mitrofanis, Filotheos, Porfirios and Venedictos, to whom I should like to express my warmest thanks. I would also like to thank the architect S. Mamaloukos, who produced the illus. 27-31 and 33-37. The text should be read in conjunction with the general map (illus. 2) and the special map of the area of the Monastery (illus. 3) in this volume (in which the hydrological features are marked in blue and noted in the legend).

2. The significance attributed to water can be seen clearly in the engravings of Mt Athos: the 'copper gravure' of Damaskinos, deacon of Megiste Laura (1873) shows Our Lady's miracle of guiding St Athanasius, founder of Megiste Laura, to the place where, when he struck his staff on the ground, water would well up (fig. 257). In other engravings, particular care is taken over showing the flow of water (fig. 258).

3. The climatological conditions of Mt Athos were not favourable for the spread of the use of wind energy as is the case in the Aegean islands. The only windmill for grinding corn is located at the *arsanas* of Zographou Monastery.

4. The water-mills and their cisterns are also stressed in the engravings, where they are shown pictorially and noted in writing. The engraving of Docheiariou Monastery (fig. 259) shows the aqueduct which brought water to the cistern, and the stone-built duct can be seen in the engraving of Philotheou Monastery (fig. 260). The miller was a monk and his work an allotted task.

5. In relation to this, there is an account of complaints from the Fathers that the water contained shavings from the sawmill.

6. For the phases in the building of the aqueduct, see the text by P. Theocharidis in this volume (p. 76). Jerusalem Codex 370 (folio 217), dating from the first half of the 16th century, contains a letter from the Abbot, priest-monk Grigorios, to *"the most renowned and proud"* Domina Assanina, donor of the water supply system: *"...to the holy Monastery where we had such a dearth of water from time past down to the present, and many monks broke their vows because of the shortage of water and left the Monastery... and you performed go great a good work and brought the water within the Monastery... and let it be known to you, blessed lady, that with the help of God we have built the aqueduct and it is strong and it runs into the Monastery..."* (transcribed by Professor C. Patrinelis, who had the kindness to allow me to use this extract).

7. The following characteristic extracts from typewritten translations in the Monastery library are in chronological order. Ioannis Komninos (1698): *"...and the arches over which the water comes into the Monastery from outside, from the opposite summit of the mountain, costly buildings and praiseworthy"*; Barskij (1725): *"...it has mountain water from the streams on the summits, which runs into the Monastery across an aqueduct, because the Monastery wall does not touch the mountainside, and for that reason they were compelled to build a special wall from the mountain to the Monastery so as to bring in the water"*: Barskij (1744): *"...where, before the gate, there is a very high stone wall with many arches and windows, on top of which the water flows in lead pipes into the Monastery from the highest mountains..."*; Curzon (1834-38): *"...the building is connected to the side of the Mountain by a lovely aqueduct, impressive in appearance as it hangs high above the sea, and consisting of two rows of eleven arches, the one above the other, with the large arch over the chasm just below the walls of the monastery"*; Muraviev (1851): *"...the outer gates are concealed beneath the arch of an aqueduct on top of which the mountain stream flows into the Monastery..."*; Iakovos Neaskitiotis, monk (1855): *"...it has arches along which the water comes into the Monastery from the summit of the mountain, opposite..."*.

8. On Mt Athos, this type of roofing is called 'the Russian system'.

9. The water-mill can be seen in Ioannis' engraving (1870, fig. 9) and Barskij shows an earlier mill in the same position (fig. 7).

10. According to tradition, this placename is connected with the Klephts of Turkish rule. This information, together with the other particulars of placenames and the names of the springs, is taken from a typewritten text, *Table of placenames of the Holy Monastery of Simonopetra*, prepared in 1978 by the priest-monk Myron.

11. Literally, 'islets': the name comes from the hillocks which protrude from the beds down which the water flows.

12. Xenias was the name of a woodcutter who took his water from the spring.

13. Literally, 'red': the spring was named for the rusty colour of the water, which is presumably to be attributed to deposits of metals in the subsoil.

14. Literally, 'the Abbot's water': the spring appeared in answer to the prayer of an aged Abbot on behalf of a pupil of his.

15. Literally, 'plank': there was a plank bridge over the stream which bears the same name.

16. Literally, 'little plane trees': the spring stands in a copse of such trees.

17. Literally, 'Alnus glutinosa': the spring is near such a tree.

18. This is where the 'tavriarides' (the monks who looked after the bulls) washed their clothes.

19. Literally, 'oak tree': the spring is near one of these.

20. Interpreted to mean 'the cold water which causes apoplexy': there is a tradition that a pasha drank water when he had been perspiring and died of apoplexy.

21. The original position of Docheiariou Monastery.

22. There are reeds ('kalamia') at the water outlet.

23. There are a few reeds in the surrounding area.

24. The same system for raising the water can be seen in the engraving (fig. 261).

25. It should be noted that this chapter does not go into building methods or details of the structures, which would have to be studied on Mt Athos as a whole before complete conclusions could be drawn.

COMMENTS ON THE FIGURES

The following comments examine figs 7, 9, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261 in greater detail in terms of the water installations.

Fig. 7 The old water-mill is shown on the same site as the present one. Also shown is the spring on the footpath to the arsanas, as it was at the time. Fig. 9 Copper engraving of the Monastery in which the mill can be seen with a wooden —not masonry— race (see Fig. 217). Fig. 257 The subject of the copper engraving demonstrates the importance which the monastic communities attached to the discovery of water. The Mother of God herself guides St Athanasius in his efforts. Fig. 258 The importance of water is stressed by the devotion of the centre of the engraving to it. Fig. 259. Depiction and written labelling of the mill and its cistern. The aqueduct which carried the water to the cistern can be seen; the front part of this narrowed in order to produce the mill-race. The mill shown is of two storeys, providing accommodation for the monk who served as miller on the first floor. Fig. 260 The two-storey mill is pointed out by a written note. The masonry mill-race slopes downwards. Fig. 261 A system for raising the water similar to that shown in the engraving operates today at Dontas.

The Metochia

1. Kăsić 1976, pp. 44-50. However, the authenticity of this document has been questioned.

2. Kăsić 1976, p. 44.

3. Kăsić 1976, p. 44. *"Longos"* was the name given to what is today Sykia, the most important village in the Sithonia peninsula. The *"katepanikion of Longos"* (formerly Apro) took its name from it. *"In the parts of Longos"* should really be translated as *"in the Sykia area"*.

4. Kăsić 1976, p. 44. The placename *"Vava"* is still used today, but it is also mentioned in documents from the

Fig. 257 The miracle performed by Our Lady for St Athanasius. [Athos]. 1873.

Σ Φ Τ Δ Ι Π Α Θ Ε Σ
Μ Υ Τ Ι Λ Ε Λ Ο Ο Η Ο Λ Δ

Η Μετα
μόρφω
Η Κο
τοῦ
Η Παναγία
Πρόδρομος.
Ὁ Ἀτόφιος Σταυρός
Η Αγια Τεκλα
Ὁ Αμπελων τῦ Βλαχου
Η Στερνα τῦ Μυλῦ.
Τὰ Ἀρχοντεικα
Τὸ Χαϊρ
Ὁ Μῦλος.

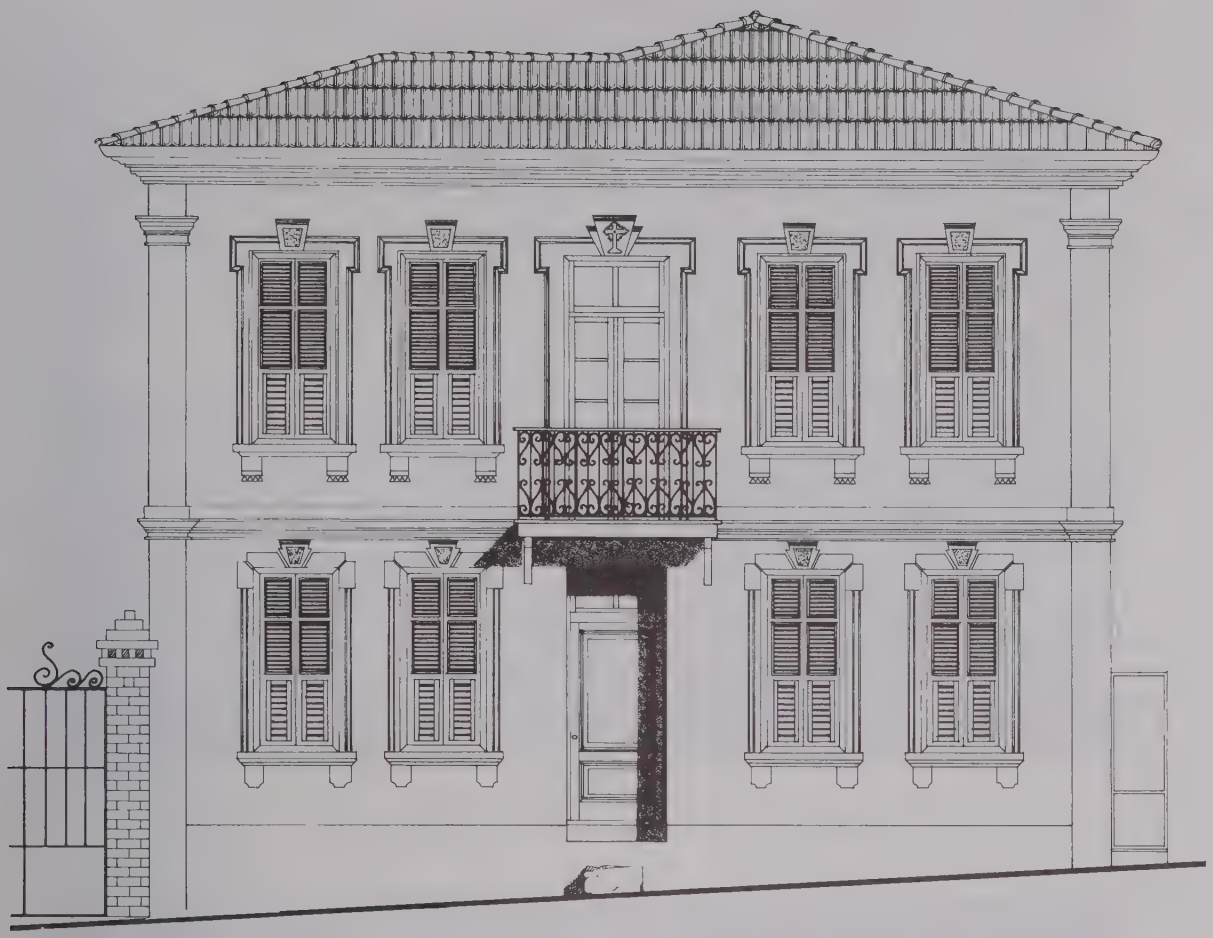
Fig. 258 *The skete of Aghios Dimitrios, Lakkos. Part of an engraving. [Athos]. 1865.*

Fig. 259 *Detail from a copper engraving of the Docheiariou Monastery. Venice. 1819.*

←

Fig. 260 *Water-mill. Detail from a copper engraving of the Philotheou Monastery. [Athos]. 1841.*

Fig. 261 *"The water which they raise with the chain". Detail from a copper engraving of the Aghiou Pavlou Monastery. Vienna. 1798.*



Illus. 38 The metochi of St Charalampus in Thessaloniki. Facade of the konaki (p. 113).

Pantokrator Monastery, which owned the *metochi* on the northern march (Azapiko).

5. The Sithonia metochia were used principally for grazing.

6. Monastery archive, assessor's decision of 10.5.1933. According to the Monastery the metochi had an area of 920 hectares.

7. Kašić 1976, p. 46.

8. Vamvakas 1985, docs. 14 and 15, Smyrnakis 1903, p. 596.

9. Vasdravellis 1973, p. 290.

10. Monastery archive, assessor's decision of 10.5. 1933, and Protocol of Provisional Separation of 22.2.1934.

11. Vasdravellis 1973, p. 291. The Monastery archive contains a document issued between 1625 and 1627 arranging for a certain monk Neophytos *"to receive his food from the Kassandra kellion"* (Vamvakas 1985, doc. 39). This reference allows us to assume that the metochi belonged to the Monastery even before 1660.

12. Monastery archive, assessor's decision of 7.7.1933.

13. *Actes de Lavra*, Paris 1977, vol. 2, doc. 97 (of 1304), lines 13-20.

14. Monastery archive, assessor's decision of 20.2.1934. From other documents in the Monastery's possession it would appear to have had an area of 91 hectares.

15. *Actes de Xénophon*, Paris 1986, doc. I (of 1089), lines 145-147.

16. *Ibid.*, doc. 25, lines 119-121, where the coastal boundaries of the metochi are described but its name is not expressly given. This was because it was now part of a much larger estate belonging to Xenophontos and known as *"the Psalidofourna lands"*. The lands of the people of Psalidofourna are also mentioned in the dubious chrysobull of Stepan Dusan, of 1352 (*ibid.*, doc. 29, line 13).

17. Vamvakas, 1985, doc. 32. Our knowledge of the text of the document comes from a study of the original.

18. According to documents in the archive, the Monastery made some purchases in 1582 *"from the additions to the vakıf of the late lamented Mehmet Aga, in the Ayios Nikolaos area"*. It can be supposed that this marks the beginning of Simonopetra's presence in the area (docs. of 1582, 1596 and 1609). Also in 1582, the Monastery was granted a permit to repair the church of Our Lady *"in the village of Ayios Nikolaos, towards the sea shore"*. This must be the church on Panayia (*"Our Lady"*) Bay. Documents relating to the same church were also issued in 1627 and 1633. It should be noted that between 1581 and 1590 Xenophontos Monastery was run by monks from Simonopetra who had taken refuge there after the burning of their own Monastery in 1580 (Smyrnakis 1903, p. 588). A

Fig. 262 The Nunnery of the Annunciation at Ormylia, Halkidiki (p. 114).

Fig. 263 Karyes. The accommodation for the representatives of the Monastery.

patriarchal document of 1581 (Vamvakas 1985, doc. 2) tells us that along with the administration of Xenophontos the monks of Simonopetra also *"undertook"* its debt, which amounted to 20,000 *"pieces of silver"*. Bearing in mind that the Xenophontos Monastery had numerous estates around Ayios Nikolaos and that the area was a *"timarion"* (fief) of Mehmet Pasha, the filling of the Simonopetra metochi in the area with its complement of monks should, perhaps, be sought in the special relationship that existed between the two monasteries in 1581-1590. (See, however, the relevant paragraph in the study by V. Dimitriadis in this volume, according to which *"The earliest document relating to the important Ayios Nikolaos metochi concerns the purchase of fields from the villagers in 1571. In 1575, the Monastery bought six threshing floors, and at later dates land was purchased on a number of occasions"*. Mr Dimitriadis' evidence is taken from unpublished Turkish documents.).

19. Vamvakas 1985, doc. 32.

20. Vamvakas 1985, doc. 48, Smyrnakis 1903, p. 591.

21. Vamvakas 1985, docs. 12, 13 and note on doc. 49.

22. Vamvakas 1985, docs. 12 and 13 for the efforts of 1785, Smyrnakis 1903, p. 593 for the efforts of 1840-1841 and p. 229 for those of 1875. For the efforts of 1887, see Papaggelos, 1985-86, pp. 92-102. The Monastery still lays claim to the metochi.

23. Monastery archive, land ownership record extract of *"1028"*.

24. Dimitriadis 1983, p. 273, Vamvakas 1985, doc. 46.

25. Dimitriadis 1983, p. 264.

26. Dimitriadis 1983, pp. 273-274.

27. Monastery archive, contract of 15.9.1894, by which the metochi was leased to a certain Archimandrite Grigorios. The annual rent was 15 Turkish pounds, and *"of the existing rooms, two, that is, the upper room to the north and the stable, will remain at the disposal of the Monastery, which owns the property, for the residence and use of the nun who lives there and of the manciple of the Monastery at any time and of other brothers from the Monastery who happen to sojourn there for their needs and their work"*. In the case of the movable property, it was provided that delivery would take place against a special inventory. The Monastery archive contains a similar inventory dated August 1820, which allows us to suppose that the practice of leasing the metochi was an old-established one.

28. Dimitriadis 1983, p. 264. For a description of the buildings of the present metochi, see Mantopoulou-Panayotopoulou 1989, pp. 261-284.

29. Vamvakas 1985, docs. 8 (1637), 10 (1654), 40 (1629), 43 (1655), 44 (1707).

30. Symeonidis 1984, pp. 54-67.

31. The monk Moïsis 1985b.

32. Kašić 1976, p. 46.

33. The Codex of Correspondence of the Bishopric of Kassandreia for 1914 (pp. 749-752, letter no. 64/15.4.1914) states that *"between the Kalamaria* metochia *of Cali-Metochi and Karvounou (belonging to Xenophontos and Ayia Anastasia) there is another metochi, belonging to the Holy Monastery of Simonopetra on Mount Athos, which, during the dark years of arbitrary rule, had been usurped by various agas"*. There is a letter of 7.5.1914 from the Monastery to the Holy Community of Mt Athos with similar content.

34. See C. Patrinelis, *"Turkish Domination"* (p. 20).

Fig. 264 The metochi of the Ascension in Athens (p. 114).

Liturgical Life

1. Nikolaos Kavasilas, *At the Divine Liturgy*, A 1.
2. Nikolaos Kavasilas, *op. cit.*, A 14.
3. St John Chysostom, *Concerning the incomprehensible to the Anomoeans*, Discourse VI.
4. Dismissal hymn of the Resurrection of the 4th tone.
5. Dismissal hymn of Holy Saturday and the Second Sunday after Easter.
6. Theophanes, Canon of Mid-Pentecost, ode 9, troparion 1.
7. *Idiomelon of the ainoi* of Matins for Tuesday in Holy Week.

Church Silver

I owe my warmest thanks to the priest-monk Ioustinos of Simonopetra for his unwearying and valuable support in the preparation of this study, and to Stelios Papadopoulos who, in a place forbidden to women, performed the necessary task of on-the-spot inspection. For the inscriptions on the treasures, A.Markopoulos – Priest-monk Ioustinos, *Inscriptions of Simonopetra, 1567 - 1913*, currently in preparation, has proved particularly valuable.

Since an assay on the quality of the metals has not been possible, the terms which are used for the materials are employed by way of convention. The same applies to the precious stones.

1. See, in this connection, Smyrnakis, 1903, pp. 588-595.
2. Codex B, pp. 121-123.
3. Typical is the case of the relics of St Mary Magdalene, which were carried off by pirates. The former Abbot Ioasaph collected, with the help of the Greek community in Venice, the sum necessary to buy them back. This event is recorded in 1762 in the Monastery's Codex: "*...and indeed the holy relic of the myrrh-bearing St Mary Magdalene, which he redeemed and liberated from Tripoli in Barbary, where it was held eighteen years — 18 — and brought it to our monastery for 520 Venetian florins...*". See, in this connection, Codex A, p. 68 and Manoussacas, 1983, pp. 434-436.
4. It is probable that this is bronze; a *katzi* of this type, currently in the Benaki Museum is made of a bronze alloy. See in this connection: B. Iatridis, "Μέτρηση τῶν συστατικῶν τῶν κραμάτων τριῶν θυμιατηρίων", *Ἀρχαιολογία*, vol. 1 (November 1981), pp. 73-74.
5. See: L. Bouras, "Παλαιοχριστιανικά καί βυζαντινά θυμιατήρια τοῦ Μουσείου Μπενάκη", *Ἀρχαιολογία*, vol. 1 (November 1981), p. 70; *katzia* in the Benaki Museum no. 21502 and the Great Meteoron.
6. In the case of the Simonopetra *katzi*, the subjects on the openwork extension are not as clear as in other examples, but they have in addition engraved decoration.
7. For the three preceding *katzia*, see L. Bouras, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-70.
8. B. Radojković, *Srpsko Zlatarstvo XVI i XVII veka*, Belgrade 1966, p. 94 and D. Milovanović, "Catalogue", *Masterpieces of Serbian Goldsmiths Work, 13th-18th century*, exhibition catalogue, Victoria and Albert Museum, London 1981, no. 43.
9. M. Šakota, *Dečanska Riznica*, Belgrade 1984, pp. 184-185 and 209, see also figs 96, 97.
10. In this *katzi*, the narrow extension of the receptacle bends slightly backwards, so that its openwork extremity, decorated with one of the familiar plant motifs, serves at the same time as a handle.
11. These are a *katzi* in the Museum of Applied Arts in Belgrade and another in the Markov Monastery; they differ in style from the rest of the group and form a separate category. See: D. Milošević, *Art in Mediaeval Serbia from the 12th to the 17th century*, exhibition catalogue, National Museum, Belgrade 1980, no. 103. As to the openwork cast lighting devices, these are *choroi* of the Palaeologue period from monasteries in Yugoslavia (L. Bouras, *op. cit.*, p. 70).
12. See: C. Bakirtzis, *Βυζαντινά τσουκαλολάγηνα. Συμβολή στή μελέτη ὀνομασιῶν, σχημάτων καί χρήσεων πυριμάχων μαγειρικῶν σκευῶν, μεταφορικῶν καί ἀποθηκευτικῶν δοχείων*, Athens 1989, pp. 102-103. See also M. Chatzidakis – D. Sofianos, *The Great Meteoron-History and Art*, Athens 1990, figs pp. 77 and 111. In the first wall-painting (old *katholikon*, 1483) two large kryonteria are shown, standing on the ground in front of the table in the Last Supper. In the second mural (new *katholikon*, 1552) , the kryonterion is shown as a table vessel. We hear of pewter vessels being in use in Byzantium. See F. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καί πολιτισμός*, vol. 2, II, p. 65. For the word itself, see E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημώδους γραμματείας, 1100-1669*, vol. 9, pp. 19-20, entry '*κρωντήρι*'.
13. On the kronteri in the Belgrade Ethnographic Museum, see B. Radojković, "Kondir s pretstavom euharistije", *Muzej Primenjene Umetnosti, Zbornik* 2 (1956), pp. 28-29, fig. 4. Radojković believes that this inscription is of a later date than the manufacture of the vessel.
14. See similar vessels made of pewter for the same use, C. Arminjon – N. Blondel, *Principes d'analyse scientifique. Objets civils domestiques*, Paris 1984, p. 154.
15. Radojković dates the vessel in the Museum of Applied Arts to the 15th-16th century and that in the Ethnographic Museum, although it does not differ in iconographic terms, slightly later, since it has certain characteristics of the Ottoman period (B. Radojković, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-43). One of the *κροντήρια* in the Benaki Museum, which resembles the preceding ones, must also belong to that period. The Simonopetra example has more in common morphologically with that in the Sofia Folklore Museum, but does not have the same iconography (B. Filow, *Die altbulgarische Kunst*, Berlin 1919, p. 68, fig. 60).
16. Cf. examples of princes similarly attired on coins of the 16th century, E. and V. Clain-Stefanelli, *Monnaies européennes et monnaies coloniales américaines entre 1450 et 1789*, Fribourg 1978, figs 120 and 279. See representations of mounted princes on coins of the 17th century, E. and V. Clain-Stefanelli, *op. cit.*, figs 272 and 293. See also a similar scene on a medal of 1601, K. Sey – I. Gedai, *Coins and Medals*, Budapest 1973, fig. 59. Cf. also pewter plates of the 17th century with representations of mounted kings of Europe, M. Guilbert-Guieu and J. Le Breton,

Fig. 265 Cover of a four-gospel book (height: 122). Work of the goldsmith Ivan Zajcev. Moscow. 1815 (pp. 163, 185).

Trésors des Musées d' Angers. Les étains. Musée Pincé, Angers 1973, figs 104 and 107.

17. In Hungary, and especially in Transylvania, there was a tradition in this field, thanks to the mines of Central Europe which produced the tin, and to the skill of 'Saxon' craftsmen. See in this connection, P. Weiner, *Zinnkunst in ungarischen Sammlungen*, Budapest 1971, pp. 9, 14-15 and 25-26.

18. It was to Charles V that Hungary looked after the defeat in the Battle of Mohács (1526). See: P. Hanák (ed.), *One Thousand Years. A Concise History of Hungary*, Budapest 1988, p. 49.

19. Typical here is the position of Christ as He rests His cheek on the cheek of His Mother, His right arm, which emerges from her *maphorion*, round her neck. This type follows the Byzantine model of the early 12th century, transferred to Kiev in 1155 from Constantinople to become the *palladium* of Russia. See: L. Ouspensky – V. Lossky, *The Meaning of Icons*, Olten 1952, p. 94. Cf. also the icon of Simonopetra with the Blessed Virgin in a *Deesis* of the end of the 16th century, V.I. Antonova, *Drevnerusskoe Iskusstvo v sobranii Pavla Korina*, Moscow 1966, no. 69 (fig. 86).

20. The die, with the design in relief, was usually of a cast copper alloy, less frequently of stone, wood or iron. The craftsman placed the metal sheet on the die and on top of that a sheet of lead which he beat with a wooden hammer until the design was imprinted on the sheeting (M.M. Postnikova-Loseva, *Russkoe Juvelirnoe Iskusstvo ego centry i mastera XVI-XIX vv.*, Moscow 1974, p. 203). The term *"basma"*, of Turkmen origin, originally meant printed cloth material, then the border, the frame. See in this connection: U. Abel, "An icon's attire - On the frames and covers of Russian icons", *Nationalmuseum Bulletin*, Stockholm 1978, vol. 2, no. 3, p. 90.

21. For the silver and gold work of Novgorod and Pskov, see M.M. Postnikova-Loseva, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-48 and 60-61.

22. See M.M. Postnikova-Loseva – N.G. Platonova – B.L.Uljanova, *Zolotoe i serebrjanoe delo XV-XX vekov*, Moscow 1983, fig. p. 13; M.M. Postnikova-Loseva, *op. cit.*, fig. p. 59, and E. Smirnova, *Icônes de l' école de Moscou XIVe - XVIIe siècles*, Leningrad 1989, fig. 153.

23. Cf. a similar frame, dated to the 16th century, M.M. Postnikova-Loseva et al., *op. cit.*, fig. p. 13. See also an almost identical frame, c. 1627, *1000-letie russkoj khudožestvenno kuljtury*, exhibition catalogue, Moscow 1988, p. 113, no. 138.

24. Cf. a similar halo, V.I. Antonova, *op. cit.*, no. 40 (fig. 55).

25. All the information about the history, trade, working and use of coconut for the creation of works of art is drawn from the work of R. Fritz, *Die Gefässe aus Kokosnuss in Mitteleuropa, 1250 - 1800*, Mainz 1983.

26. See, indicatively, R. Fritz, *op. cit.*, fig. 34, a,b.

27. See, indicatively, R. Fritz, *op. cit.*, fig. 73, figs 78-79 and fig. 96.

28. Perhaps this is the priest-monk Neophytos who is mentioned in the Monastery's Codex in 1619, 1620 and 1632 (Codex A, pp. 7, 12 and 19).

29. Codex A, p. 285. Although this entry is undated, it was made between the years 1618 and 1638. It is confirmed by other, dated, entries in which the same persons are mentioned as in the entry on p. 285 (see Codex, pp. 16, 19, 22 and 26). Later, in the inventory of 1805, we read: *"1 one cup of coconut set in silver"* (Codex B, p. 76). Finally, in the inventory made after the fire of 1891, in the category of chalices, *"2 two of wood of India, of which, one set in silver"* (Codex B, p. 133).

30. At this period, various kinds of drinking vessels are

Fig. 266 Icon cover (height: 317). 1776 (p. 185).

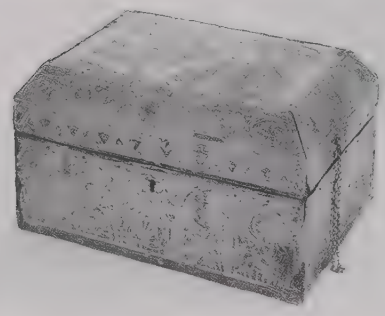


Fig. 267 Reliquary (height: 140). Stemnitsa (?). 1812 (pp. 163, 186).

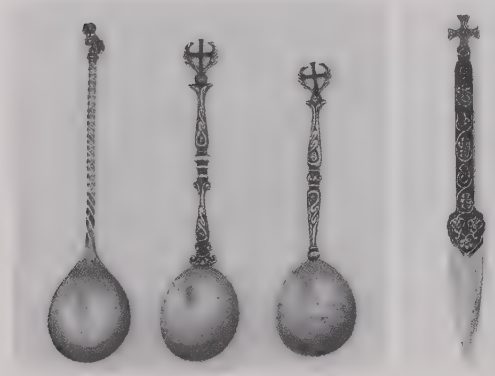


Fig. 268 Spoons (length: a. 196, b. 186, c. 171). 16th - 17th century (pp. 163, 165).

Fig. 269 Lance (length: 160). Second half of the 17th century (p. 165).

listed in the codex as being in the possession of the monks: *"Hungarian cup"* (1619), *"Hungarian goblet and Wallachian cup, cup-shaped goblet gilt"* (1632), *"gold cup"* (1633 and 1641), *"gilt cups"* (1646).

31. R. Fritz, *op. cit.*, fig. 3, c, fig. 5, b.

32. The following inscription is engraved on the underside of the base: *"Leftheris παχατόρ from viopolis"*. The word *"παχατόρ"* may perhaps be the equivalent of the Romanian word *facator* (= maker). The place-name has not been identified. See similar cups in Romania, particularly at the Valea Monastery, C. Nicolescu, *Argintăria laică şi religioasă în Ţările Române (sec. XIV-XIX)*, Bucharest 1968, pp. 74-75, nos 23-31. One of these (no. 23) is dated 1635. The Valea Monastery was a *metochi* of the Goura Monastery, Pogoniani in Epirus (A. Camariano-Cioran, *L'Epire et les pays roumains*, Ioannina 1984, p. 28). We do not know whether another Neophytos, the deprived Bishop of Vella in Epirus, referred to in 1632 in the Monastery's codex as *"bishop of Vela"* (Codex A, p. 19), who, according to an entry of 1638, *has two cups* (Codex A, p. 27), had connections with the Valea Monastery. It is not possible with the data which we currently possess to link the owner of the cup, the priest-monk Neophytos, with the Valea Monastery and the Bishop of Vella, particularly since we do not know whether the latter became a monk, as the owner of the cup was.

33. See note 30 and J. Kolba – A. Németh, *Treasures of Hungary. Gold and Silver from the 9th to the 19th century*, Budapest 1986, p. 10.

34. H. Kohlhaussen, *Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters und der Dürerzeit, 1240 bis 1540*, Berlin 1968, p. 296, and, generally, for objects with bosses, pp. 296-309. See also: C. Hernmarck, *The Art of the European Silversmith 1430-1830*, London 1977, vol. I, pp. 89-92, 100-101, 106 and vol. II, figs 64-70.

35. Double standing cups were intended for use at the weddings of the wealthy bourgeois. On the return to the Gothic style, in which, largely thanks to the goldsmith Hans Petzolt, there was a revival in Nuremberg in the late 16th century, while the Renaissance was predominant, see C. Hernmarck, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 49-50.

36. See similar examples of the 16th century from Transylvania, V. Roth, *Kunstdenkmäler aus den sächsischen Kirchen Siebenbürgens, I. Goldschmiedearbeiten*, Hermannstadt 1922, pp. 101-102, no. 225 (fig. 101) and p. 104, no. 232 (fig. 102, 4). The same type of bosses are observable c. 1500 on secular standing cups from Transylvanian workshops (See C. Nicolescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61, nos 3 and 4. There are also similarities with the bosses to be seen in the case of *"the Matthias Corvinus cup"* (c. 1480?). See in this connection: C. Hernmarck, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 90-91 and vol. 2, fig. 64.

37. In other cases of chalices, the bosses are confined to the base. See J.M. Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik in Mitteleuropa*, Munich 1982, p. 149, figs 851 and 856.

38. See by way of indication similar 16th century examples in works from Transylvania with a narrow, non-openwork, strap, V. Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-95, nos 206 and 209 (fig. 91,3 and 90).

39. Cf. an example from the second half of the 16th century, V. Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61, no. 139 (fig. 52,2).

40. See by way of indication, V. Roth, *op.cit.*, pp. 30-31, no. 73 (fig. 26) and pp. 83-84, no. 185 (fig. 77).

41. E. Köszeghy, *Merkzeichen der Goldschmiede Ungarns vom Mittelalter bis 1867*, Budapest 1936, p. 26.

42. On the development and types of spoons from the

15th century onwards, see C. Hernmarck, *op.cit.*, vol. I, pp. 205-207 and vol. II, figs 499-501.

43. These spoons were personal possessions which each guest brought with him to the table (C. Hernmarck, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 207).

44. In the Latin rite the use of a spoon for the giving of Holy Communion was unknown. Nevertheless, eucharistic spoons were used, in some areas, from the late medieval period onwards for the symbolic admixture of a few drops of water to the wine being prepared for the Eucharist. See: J. Braun, Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung, Hildesheim – New York 1973 (reprint of the Munich edition, 1932, pp. 265-266, and B. Montevecchi e S. Vasco Roca, *Suppellettile ecclesiastica I,4. Dizionari terminologici*, Florence 1988, p. 143.

45. *Deutsche Goldschmiedekunst vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert aus dem Germanischen National museum*, exhibition catalogue (ed. K. Pechstein), Nuremberg - Berlin, 1987, p. 329, no. 211.

46. Codex A, p. 81, "*Two sweet plates with the spoons. Nine silver spoons*".

47. Codex A, p. 79.

48. Many-sided knots are characteristic features of manufacture of the 17th century chiefly. On the floral decoration in the technique of champlevé enamels usual in Constantinople in the second half of the 17th century, see Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Silver", *Patmos: Treasures of the Monastery* (ed. A. Kominis), Athens 1988, p. 227, fig. 21. Cf. some of the flowers with those which make up the decoration on a buckle in translucent enamels in the Monastery of St Catherine on Mt Sinai, Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Metalwork", *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of St Catherine* (ed. K. Manafis), Athens 1990, p. 274, fig. 17.

49. Cf. G. Millet, *Recherches sur l' iconographie de l' Evangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles*, Paris 1960 (republication of the 1st ed. of 1916), fig. 480.

50. On known examples of this type, the Twelve Apostles, prophets, the Tree of Jesse or the Vine are depicted. For an example see: Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικά ἀργυρά*, Athens 1980, fig. 10.

51. Cf. a holy water basin in the Monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos, Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos "Church Silver", *op. cit.*, p. 228, fig. 56.

52. See in this connection: K.D. Mertzios, "Λουκᾶς Σουγδουρῆς ὁ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων ἐκδότης ἐν Βενετίᾳ (1570 - 1591)", *Ἠπειρωτική Ἑστία* 18 (1969), pp. 1-14, and K.D. Mertzios, "Τό ἐν Βενετίᾳ Ἠπειρωτικόν Ἀρχεῖον", *Ἠπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 11 (1936), pp. 1-341, passim. On the scholar Georgios Sougdouris, see F. Michalopoulos, *Τά Γιάννενα κι ἡ νεοελληνική ἀναγέννηση (1648 - 1820)*, Athens 1930, pp. 35-37.

53. Haïdo Sougdouri, sister of Georgios Sougdouris, married Nikolaos, head of the Glykis firm. See K.D. Mertzios, "Ἡ οἰκογένεια τῶν Γλυκέων ἤ Γλυκήδων", *Ἠπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 10 (1935), pp. 1-52.

54. Cf. a wood engraving of a book title (Venice, 1571), A. Koumarianou – L. Droulia – E. Layton, *Τό ἑλληνικό βιβλίο 1476 - 1830*, Athens 1986, fig. 25. Also reminiscent of engravings is the way in which the frame of the Gospel has been worked. Cf. the imprint of the N. Glykis press (1679), A. Koumarianou *et al, op. cit.*, fig. 118, no. 11.

55. For the Sougdouris family and the silver chandelier dated 1752, the work of the brothers Serbanos and Efstathios Sougdouris, preserved in the Monastery of St Catherine on Mt Sinai, see Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Metalwork", *op. cit.*, pp.277-278, fig. 43 and note no. 186.

Fig. 270 Kronteri (height: 315). Transylvania (?). 16th-17th century (?) (p. 163).

56. Codex A, pp. 41-42.

57. J. Kolba – A. Németh, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Cf. the decoration on a chalice of 1651, C. Nicolescu, *op. cit.*, p. 117, no. 105. The spherical element on the stem is, anyway, a characteristic of Transylvanian workshops. See V. Roth, *op. cit.*, Part 2, fig. 124,2 and 3.

58. Cf. the cup of a standing cup (1663), *Deutsche Goldschmiedekunst... op. cit.*, p. 283, no. 170.

59. On floral baroque, see C. Hernmarck, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 57-59, and J. Kolba – A. Németh, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

60. The memorandum is written on folio $371^{r,v}$. The same Gospel, on folio 370^{v}, contains another memorandum: "*The present divine and holy Gospel was written by the hand of Loukas of Hungro-Wallachia, the Cypriot, and was presented to the most honourable and most noble lord kyr Constantine Vivem the Cretan and was finished by me Iakovos, priest-monk, of Simonopetra, being a pupil to that rare one in 1629. It was decorated by the care of Grigorios, priest-monk*".

61. Greek traders in the Danubian principalities were involved in important activities. See N. Camariano, "L' organisation et l' activité culturelle de la compagnie des marchands grecs de Sibiu", *Balcania* 6 (1943), pp. 201-241.

Fig. 271 Maker's stamp from the chalice of fig. 89 (p. 165).

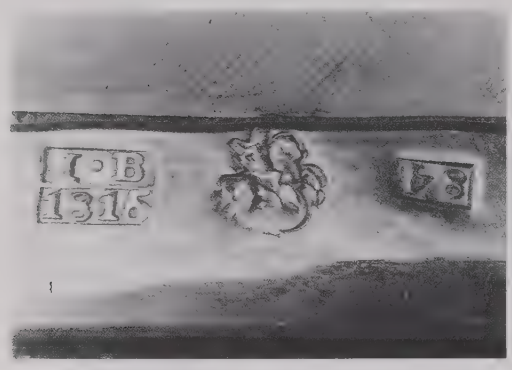


Fig. 272 Stamps from the book of the Gospels of fig. 265; (centre) Moscow stamp (p. 185); (right) Silver hallmark (p. 185); (left) Assay stamp (p. 185).

Fig. 273 Stamps from the book of the Gospels of fig. 265; (right) Maker's stamp (p. 185).

62. It should be noted that the *katholikon* of Simonopetra is dedicated to the Nativity of Christ.

63. See on this subject, J. Renaud, *Le cycle de l' Apocalypse de Dionysiou*, Paris 1943, pp. 27-38. Generally on the iconography of the Apocalypse from the 15th century onwards, see M. Chatzidakis, Icons of Patmos, Athens 1985, pp. 108-111, and G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 5, *Die Apokalypse des Johannes*, Güttersloh 1990, passim.

64. J. Renaud, *op.cit.*, pp. 28-31 and 33-34, A. Schramm, *Luther und die Bibel*, Leipzig 1923, figs 3-35 and 112-124, and G. Schiller, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

65. G. Schiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 370-371, fig. 978.

66. M. Beza, *Urme românești in răsăritul ortodox*, Bucharest 1935, fig. p. 20.

67. See C. Nicolescu, *op. cit.*, p. 49, no. 7.

68. Nicolescu in interpreting the goldsmith's mark proposes the initials C.V., as there cannot be any interpretation of his mark in this Gospel, as is the case with the Simonopetra Gospel (C. Nicolescu, *op. cit.*, p. 49, no. 5). In the memorandum on the inside of the latter it is clearly stated that the cover was made in "*prasovi of hungary*" (i.e., Braşov), though the mark with the maker' s initials (VA IC) has no crown, a mark which after 1600 had been established for Braşov (see above, note no. 41). For this reason, Nicolescu rightly gives Braşov with a question-mark as the probable place of his activity, which he does not question in the case of his fellow-craftsman on the Jerusalem Gospel, known to her from other works, in some of which his initials have a crown (perhaps by analogy the initials should be interpreted as VA. IE. and not E.V. as proposed by Nicolescu). She interprets this inconsistency by the hypothesis that he worked as a goldsmith in Wallachia in the service of Şerban Cantacuzenos, and so was not obliged to use the mark of the city of Braşov (C. Nicolescu, *op. cit.*, p. 27).

69. C. Nicolescu, *op. cit.*, p. 299, no. 346. The same prince a year later dedicated this monastery and all its estates to the monasteries of Mt Athos (G. Cioran, *Σχέσεις τῶν Ρουμανικῶν χωρῶν μετά τοῦ Ἄθω καί δή τῶν Μονῶν Κουτλουμουσίου, Λαύρας, Δοχειαρίου καί Ἁγ. Παντελεήμονος ἤ τῶν Ρώσων*, Athens 1938, p. 135. The illustration of the Apocalypse is also encountered at a later date on a Gospel dated 1787 in the sacristy of the Monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos, but of inferior quality. See in this connection: Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Silver", *op.cit.*, p. 237, figs 48-49.

70. See B. Radojković, *Les objets sculptés d' art mineur en Serbie ancienne*, Belgrade 1977, pp. 39-41, fig. 46 a,b.

71. The translation of the inscription is: "*The deacon Petros donates this cross*".

72. Cf. a cross dated 1623 in the Piva Monastery, A. Skovran, *Le trésor artistique du Monastère de Piva*, catalogue of an exhibition held in the National Museum, Belgrade, 1980, no. 52, pp. 121-122, fig. VXII. For similar examples, see also D. Milovanović, *op. cit.*, no. 71, and M. Postnikova-Loseva, "Serebrjanye izdelija juvelirov Serbii i Dubrovnika XV-XVII vv. v muzejakh Moskvy i Leningrada", *Muzej Primenjene Umetnosti, Zbornik* 15(1971), p. 96, figs 41-44.

73. Cf. crosses of the 16th and early 17th centuries in the Banja Monastery, M. Šakota, *Riznica Manastira Banje kod Priboja*, Belgrade 1981, figs 34, 52 and 55.

74. Very close in stylistic terms to the carved wooden core of this cross is another cross in the Monastery. The inscriptions which go with the scenes are written on its

mounting, which is cast and decorated with small crosses repeated, and are the same for each side, in spite of the fact that on one of its sides they do not correspond to the scenes depicted. This fault in the manufacture provides an interesting insight into the mass production of frames of this type, which, however, reflect better models.

75. Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Silver", *op. cit.*, p. 231, fig. 19.

76. Philemon in mentioned in 1701 in the Monastery' s Codex as Abbot (Codex A, p. 54). Between the years 1714 and 1717 he is referred to as former Abbot and it is stated that he gave "*a decorated cross*" (Codex A, p. 60). Perhaps this is the same Philemon who is referred to in the inscription on the reliquary containing a relic of St Barbara (1728?).

77. Christ is shown with wings, in the type of the Angel of the Heavenly Court.

78. The date 1724 is given on the stem of the cross, together with the name of the goldsmith, Dimitris, and the name of its owner, the former Abbot, Matthaios. On its foot there is the name of Dimitris and the date 1713. The other cross, also, as can be seen from the striking similarity, the work of Dimitris, has the date 1713 on the stem, with the name of the owner, the former Abbot Kyprianos; on its foot it has the name of the former Abbot Matthaios. It is extremely likely that the cross and the base which both have the date 1713 originally belonged together, as did the cross and the base which bear the name of the former Abbot Matthaios. The two parts could easily have been mixed up, since the bases are screwed to the stems.

79. See also Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Silver", *op. cit.*, pp. 227, fig. 21.

80. Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Silver", *op. cit.*, fig. 44.

81. Enamels, by way of contrast, predominate in another category of crosses of the second half of the 18th century, in which, however, a number of the older characteristics can still be seen and which are obviously from Pontos. See in this connection: Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Silver", *op. cit.*, p. 236, fig. 31, and Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Metalwork", *op. cit.*, p. 277, fig. 41. See also, A. Ballian, "Argyroupolis - Gümüshane : mining capital of Pontos", *The Greeks in the Black Sea* (ed. M. Koromila), Athens 1991, figs 181 and 186.

82. See A. Delivorrias, *Greek Traditional Jewelery*, Athens 1980, figs 79, 81 and 25, respectively.

83. See examples from Sicilian silverwork, M.C. Di Natale, "Gli argenti in Sicilia tra rito e decoro", *Ori e argenti di Sicilia dal Quattrocento al Settecento*, catalogue of an exhibition in the Pepoli Museum, Trapani 1989, Milan 1989, pp. 151-153, fig. 35 and nos II, 95, II, 98 and II, 101.

84. See, by way of indication, on German silverwork, *Deutsche Goldschmiedekunst...*, *op. cit.*, p. 41, fig. 49, and K. Rossacher, *Der Schatz des Ertzstiftes Salzburg. Ein Jahrtausend deutscher Goldschmiedekunst*, Salzburg 1966, fig. 38. On Russian silverwork, see, indicatively, M. Martynova, "Orfèvrerie russe", *Trésors des Musées du Kremlin*, catalogue of an exhibition at the Grand Palais, Paris 1979-1980, no. 53.

85. In the example from the Laura Monastery, Kalavryta (1831), discreet filigree green enamels frame the scenes of the core.

86. In some examples there are more than one pair of dragons (e.g., a cross in the Laura Monastery, Kalavryta, 1831). In others, the place of the dragons is occupied by plant-shaped ornaments (e.g., a cross in the Monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos, Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Silver", *op. cit.*, fig. 17). The finial may retain the same shape, but no the same manner of construction (e.g., a cross from the Bačkovo Monastery in Bulgaria (1793), M. Ivanov, *Zlatarskite Proizvedenija ot XVI-XIX v. v muzeja na Bačkovskija Manastir*, Sofia 1967, p. 23).

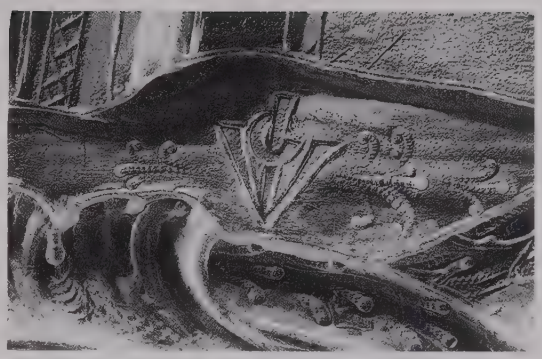


Fig. 274 Maker's stamp from the Gospel cover of figs 86-88 (p. 166).

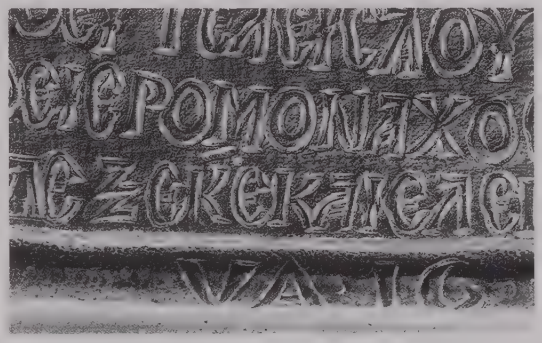


Fig. 275 Maker's initials from the Gospel cover of figs 86-88 (p. 166).

87. See further M. Šakota, *Dečanska Riznica*, *op. cit.*, fig. 248, nos 70 and 71, A. Boschkov, *Die bulgarische Volkskunst*, Recklinghausen 1972, fig. 120, and D. Drumev, *Zlatarsko Izkustvo*, Sofia 1976, figs pp. 124 and 125 and figs 207-208.

88. The large dark red cut stone which hangs from the lower extremity seems to have been a later addition. For similar earlier mountings, see, indicatively, M.C. Di Natale, "I gioielli della Madonna di Trapani", *Ori e argenti di Sicilia dal Quattrocento al Settecento*, catalogue of an exhibition at the Pepoli Museum, Trapani 1989, Milan 1989, p. 76, fig. 33 and nos I,26 and I,44.

89. Radojković considers small icons of this type to be *panagiaria*, in spite of the fact that they have representations of Sts George and Demetrius and no scene connected

with the Blessed Virgin. See B. Radojković, "Les objets sculptés...", *op. cit.* , p. 42.

90. On *panagiaria* see B. Radojković, "Les objets sculptés...", *op. cit.*, pp. 10-15. For similar examples, see figs 49b and 52b.

91. Perhaps this is the sacristan Ioakeim (Codex A, pp. 91-94).

92. On the rococo style, see C. Hernmarck, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 66-70. See also, indicatively, C. Oman, *English Silversmith' s Work Civil and Domestic*, London 1965, figs 118 and 145.

93. See examples in Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Silver", *op. cit.*, p. 235 - 238, fig. 9, 33-34, 50-51 and 53. See also P. Zoras, "Silverwork", *Greek Handicraft* (ed. S. Papadopoulos), Athens 1969, figs 225-227.

94. My thanks to Prof. V. Dimitriadis for identifying the seal. On the views held in connection with the stamping of silver objects with the tuğra, the artistic monogram of the Sultan of the day, see Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Τά ἐκκλησιαστικά ἀργυρά τῆς Νέας Καρβάλης", *Πρακτικά Β΄ τοπικοῦ συμποσίου - " Ἡ Καβάλα καί ἡ περιοχή της"*, 26-29 September 1986, Kavala 1988, reprint, p. 13, note no. 40.

95. Moïsis, monk, "Ἡπειρῶτες Σιμωνοπετρίτες", *Ἠπειρωτικό Ἡμερολόγιο*, Ioannina 1983, pp. 128-129.

96. On the iconography, see also M. Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos, op. cit*, pp. 171-172.

97. M.M. Postnikova-Loseva et al., *Zolotoe i serebrjanoe delo..., op. cit.*, pp. 51-53, and A. von Solodkoff, *Orfèvrerie russe du XVII au XIX siècle*, Fribourg (Switzerland) 1981, pp. 179-180; for other centres, by way of indication, figs 100, 104.

98. The mark of the city of Moscow between the years 1741 and 1899 was the city's emblem, St George on horseback in the scene of the slaying of the dragon. See M.M. Postnikova-Loseva *et al., Zolotoe i serebrjanoe delo..., op. cit.*, pp. 127 and 202 -203.

99. The mark of purity of 84 zolotniki (875/1000), which was usual as early as the mid 18th century, was officially established by the decree of 1 May 1798 and was in force until 1917 as the minimum silver standard (A. von Solodkoff, *op. cit.*, p. 160).

100. M.M. Postnikova-Loseva *et al., Zolotoe i serebrjanoe delo...., op. cit.*, p. 216, no. 2488 and p. 205, no. 2102, respectively.

101. Cf. Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Silver", *op. cit.*, fig. 11.

102. Cf. the scene of the Crucifixion with those in the works of Tzimouris, P. Zoras, *op. cit.*, fig. 206.

103. Cf. the handling of the folds in engravings of the mid 19th century, Papastratos, 1990, vol. I, p. 151, no. 147 and p. 301, no. 328. Cf. medals with scenes and rococo borders in engravings of the early 19th century, Papastratos, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 569, no. 607. Cf. headings of books (1832), A. Koumarianou *et al., op. cit.*, fig. 117 ε΄. and στ΄.

104. For Thomas, son of Isidoros Pento and his works, see Papastratos, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 44. On the Simonopetra cover a few similarities with his engravings are observable, as, for example, in the treatment of the folds in the cloak of St Savas or the framework of the scenes around St John of Rila (Papastratos, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 524, no. 558 and p. 522, no. 556). On the other hand, the quality is superior, since the figures have greater mobility and bulk, merits which are doubtless due to the potential of the material and the manner of its treatment. In the Monastery's inventories of transactions of the years 1848-1860 there are two entries dealing with a Gospel book and a copy of the four Gospels: *"1849 May 17, 1300 piastres to Thomas the goldsmith for one gospel gilded and 1850 April, piastres... to Thomas the goldsmith for a copy of the gospels 370 drams: silver for working and gilding and purchase;* also, *1850 February 21, 330 piastres to Thomas the goldsmith for silver, working and gilding of a small gospel*". This was probably the same Thomas, but it is not known whether any of these entries refers to the book of the Gospels dealt with here. Furthermore, a Gospel book with a cover of this type is preserved in the Monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos (Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Silver", *op. cit.*, p. 238, fig. 45) and its inscription: *"1847 by the hand of Thomas S. the goldsmith; in Karyes on the Holy Mountain of Athos"* (S. Papadopoulos, "Ἐπιγραφές Ἱ.Μ. Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Θεολόγου Πάτμου", *Ἐπιγραφές τῆς Πάτμου*, Athens 1966, p. 78, no. 181). This cover, apart from its iconographic connection with the work at Simonopetra, is signed by Thomas S. (Sideris?). However, stylistic differ-ences between the two works render difficult attribution to him. A comparison with his surviving signed works in the Docheiariou Monastery would perhaps throw light on the issue.

105. For Kruševo see A. Vakalopoulos, *Ἱστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας 1354-1833*, Thessaloniki 1969, pp. 450-452. See also S. Papadopoulos, *Ἡ χαλκοτεχνία στόν ἑλληνικό χῶρο 1900-1975*, Nafplion 1982, passim. Also preserved in the Monastery is a Gospel cover *"by the hand of Michail Papa Theocharis of Krousovo 1869"* (in the general census of *"laymen resident in Karyes 1885"*, he is given as being from *"Vitolia"* (Bitola), but the place of origin which he himself gives in the inscription should probably be relied upon).

106. Another Gospel book of the type dealt with here is still preserved at Simonopetra. See also note no. 104.

107. Reliquaries of this type have up to the present been located in the Peloponnese at the Makellaria Monastery (two), the Taxiarches Monastery, Aighialeia (two), the Megalo Spilaio Monastery, Kalavryta, the Voulkano Monastery (two), the Velanidia Nunnery, Messenia, and Skafidia Nunnery, Ileia. They are also to be found in the Monastery of St Catherine on Mt Sinai and at the Zoödochos Pighi Nunnery (Ayia) on Andros. See one of the reliquaries from the Taxiarches Monastery, P. Zoras, *op. cit.*, fig. 224. For the reliquaries of Voulkano and Velanidia see T. Provatakis, *Ἀνέκδοτα βυζαντινά καί μεταβυζαντινά κειμήλια τῆς Ἱ. Μητροπόλεως Μεσσηνίας*, Thessaloniki 1976, pp. 161-165 and 168-169, plates 64-65, figs 101-103, plates 67-68, figs 107-109, plates 69-71, figs 110-113. For the reliquary of the Mt Sinai Monastery, see A. Paliouras, *Ἱερά Μονή Σινᾶ*, Athens 1985, fig. 83.

108. P. Zoras, *op. cit.*, fig. 225.

109. One of the two reliquaries of the Makellaria Monastery was dedicated to the same monastery in 1817 (see above note no. 107).

110. T. Provatakis, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

111. Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Metalwork", *op. cit.*, p. 275, fig. 35.

112. Inventory of transactions of the years 1856-1870.

113. *"1861, May 2, to Georgios the goldsmith for one silver kivotion..."* (Inventory of the years 1856-1870, folio 82).

114. Inventory of the years 1891-1900, p. 118. In the tables of the marks of the Moscow goldsmiths there is one with the initials IK (in the Cyrillic alphabet), which belonged to Kuz'min Ilja Kuz'mič, who was active between the years 1875 and 1895 (M.M. Postnikova-Loseva *et al., op. cit.*, p. 216, nos 2496-7). Perhaps he is to be identified with the goldsmith who made the Simonopetra *kivotion*, though that has no marks.

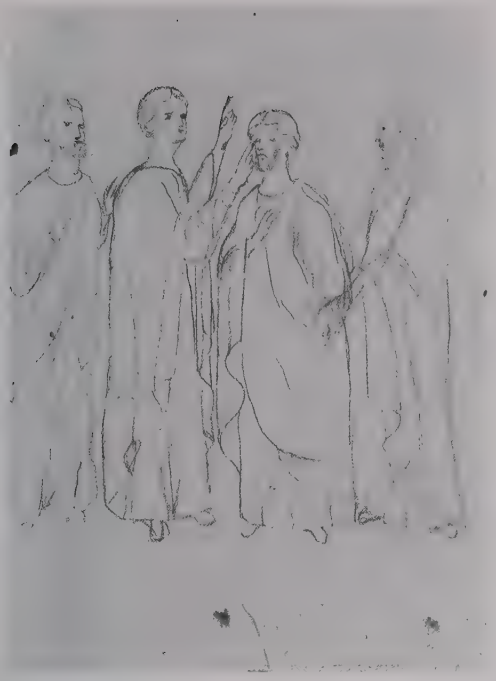


Fig. 276 *Tracing of the depiction of the Healing of the Blind Man. 19th century.*

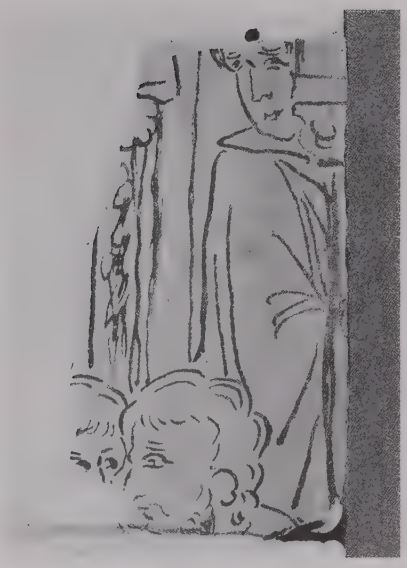


Fig. 277 *Part of a tracing of a scene from the Dormition of the Virgin. 16th century (?).*

Fig. 278 *Tracing: prophets from the depiction of 'The Prophets from on high'. 18th century.*

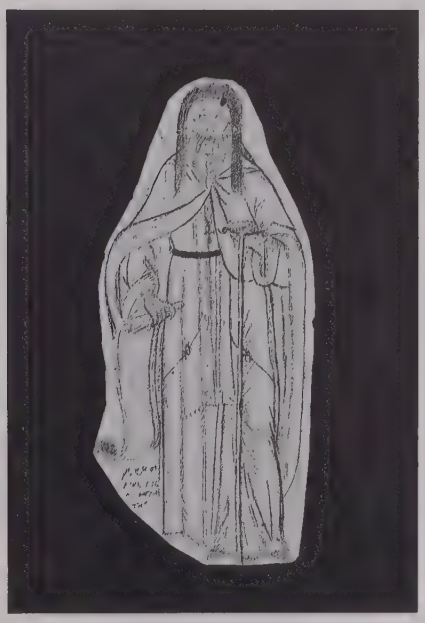


Fig. 279 *Tracing of a depiction of St Gerasimos the New Ascetic. 18th century.*

Icons

1. The wall-paintings of 1633 in the katholikon and the refectory are mentioned by Uspenskij 1892, p. 409. Smyrnakis 1903 (1988), pp. 588-589, refers only to the painting of the katholikon in that year. Barskij 1887, pp. 352-353, states simply that the katholikon was decorated, without providing any details. Ioannis Komninos 1701 (1984), p. 83, tells us that *"...in the right transept [there are] twelve Muscovite icons showing the saints celebrated in each month"*. Barskij 1887, p. 352, repeats this information. These were small double-faced icons of the type which appear in Russian painting after the 15th century (Lazarev 1976, passim, Smirnova 1978, pp. 276-285). Ioannis Komninos 1701 (1984), p. 84 and Barskij 1887, p. 356, tell us that the portrait of the Serbian prince Ioannis Uglješa, founder of the Monastery, was painted *"in the refectory, in the arch of the window, looking out to sea"*.

2. For a good analysis, see Chatzidakis 1981, pp. 77-89; for the dating, see Xyngopoulos 1957, pp. 29-31.

3. See Paskaleva-Kabadaieva 1980, pp. 95-101 for the wall-paintings in the church of St George at Kremikovski, in the vicinity of Sofia. The wall-paintings are inferior in quality to the icon.

4. Cf. the icon by the painter Angelos in the church of St John the Divine, Patmos, Chatzidakis 1988, p. 113, fig. 16 (on p. 143). The *praependulia* in an icon of Christ from the chapel of the Blessed Christodoulos on Patmos, whose editor dates it to around 1500 (see Chatzidakis 1977, no. 15, colour plate 19), terminate in the same manner as the Saints earrings.

5. The text of the inscription is as follows: ΔΕΗ[CIC ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛ]ΟΥ ΤΟΥ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ ΑΘΑΝΑCΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΙΑC ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩC, (*Offering of the servant of God Athanasios Bishop of Nicaea*). On visit of Athanasios to the Holy Mountain, see Ktenas, 1928, pp. 106-107.

6. Radojčić 1974, colour plate 29.

7. Cf. the depiction in an icon from the church of the Dormition of the Virgin at Zefyria, Milos: Acheimastou-Potamianou 1986, no. 166 (fig. on p. 164), which contains the earlier bibliography. The painter of the Simonopetra icon used a different model.

8. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that they originated on the screen of the katholikon, which may have been constructed in 1633 or a little later.

9. Two icons of Christ and one of St Nicholas in the Monastery collection are the work of the same painter.

10. A representation of Christ by the same epithet is among the wall-paintings of St Zacharias, Grammos, dating from the 17th century (Michailidis 1967, p. 82, fig. 47b), and an icon of Christ by this epithet was sent to Gavriil of Philadelphia by Arsenios of Elassona from Moscow in 1593 (Vasilikos 1907, pp.758-759).

11. Gouma-Peterson 1971, pp. 11-59, gives a good analysis of the revival of the earlier tradition in the 18th century.

12. Pallas 1976, pp. 192-205, figs. XXI, XXIII, XXV; Kissas 1983, p. 477, figs. Xa-Xb. The key position for this workshop was the painting of the chapel of Our Lady in Docheiariou Monastery, dating from 1744 (personal notes).

13. The dating of the icons is given on the basis of the classification of the material undertaken by the doctoral thesis (in preparation) entitled *"Ecclesiastical painters and workshops in 18th century Thessaloniki"*.

14. It is possible that this icon, together with others from the same workshop in the Simonopetra collection,

Gold-embroidered Vestments

Fig. 280 Application of omophorion: The Presentation of the Blessed Virgin in the Temple (p. 216).

Fig. 281 Application of omophorion: Christ as the Good Shepherd (p. 216).

may have come from the St Charalampus *metochi* in Thessaloniki.

15. It is very similar to the icons on the screen of the 'Great' (now 'New') Virgin in Thessaloniki, which are dated around 1730 (personal notes).

16. The historicity of this personage, who was one of the founders of the Docheiariou Monastery (his portrait is to be seen in the refectory there) has recently been questioned by Năsturel (1986, pp. 213-214).

Paper Icons

1. By the term 'engraving', we mean a figurative representation printed on paper or cloth by pressing down a 'negative' plate or matrix made of wood, copper or stone and covered with ink. Depending on the material of which the plate is made, the imprint is called a woodcut, a copper engraving or a lithograph.

2. Under the same title, 'paper icons' Dory Papastratos published (in 1986) a text which was a milestone in the study of Greek engraving. In the lengthy introduction, she examined the question of engraving in exhaustive depth. This text owes a great debt of gratitude to her, and is dedicated to her memory.

3. Papastratos 1986, pp. 16-17.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-29.

6. See the brief introduction by Papastratos to the catalogue of the exhibition of engravings from her collection at the Benaki Museum, 31 March - 31 May 1987.

7. *Ibid.*

8. The registers of monks give their place and date of birth (whether they belong to the monastery itself or its dependencies) and the dates on which they are inducted into the community, receive the tonsure and die. The *kelli* deeds give particulars of the identity of the monks concerned and lay down the precise area of the *kelli* and its equipment (known as its 'dowry'). The *Inventories of Transactions* contain a variety of interesting details: the copper engravers, for instance, also sold seafood to the monasteries and bought timber from them. They also paid rent for their rooms at Karyes.

9. Papastratos refers to four workshops at Karyes and provides a table with the names of twenty two engravers, the number of works produced by each and the years during which they were working. Research is continuing in this direction, and it is hoped that we shall soon have a complete catalogue of the workshops, the engravers and the seal makers of Athos which will summarise the material produced by more recent research.

10. For more detail of these studies, see Papastratos 1986, pp. 30-31 and the bibliography to this text.

11. The engravings which take as their subject general views of Mt Athos were published by Papastratos 1986, under nos. 418-429. The introductory notes to this group of engravings will be found on pp. 386-387. The woodcuts of the Serbian Patriarchate and the copper engraving of 1767 were published by Davidov. The *Προσκυνητάριον* of Komninos was republished by Panselinos, Karyes 1984; plates 4 and 5 reproduce the copper engraving of the 1701 edition and plate 7 that of the Montfaucon edition.

12. These were published by Papastratos, 1986, as nos.

Fig. 282 Application of omophorion: The Presentation of Christ in the Temple (p. 216).

Fig. 283 Application of omophorion: The Descent into Hell (p. 216).

498, 499 and 500. Papastratos 1987 also publishes and describes in detail the copper engraving of 1868, together with the copper engravings of 1836 and 1870.

13. Our information from the *Inventories of Transactions* of Simonopetra concerning the copper engraver Ioannis refer to the period 1868-1891. Ioannis is paid for the new engraving of the Monastery which he had produced (1868), sells seafood (1871, 1882), buys planks (1880) and pays rent (1891) on the Monastery's old *konaki* at Karyes.

14. The following entry is from the inventory for 1863, folio 107: *"1863, January, 78 piastres for one sheet of copper from Constantinople via Kyr Ger[asimos] of Dionysiou"*. This may be the plate later engraved by Ioannis.

15. Papastratos 1987, pp. 168 and 169.

16. Our acquaintance with the world of paper icons began with the reprinting (1972) of the copper engraving of Meteora (1782). S.A. Papadopoulos (1974) was the first to urge that all the engravings scattered throughout the Monastery and its dependencies should be collected. The Byzantinologist Sotiris Kissas contributed with knowledge and courtesy to the study and academic evaluation of the collection. Bishop Chrysostomos, formerly a Father at Chiliandari Monastery and Protos of Mt Athos, and Father Porphyrios of Simonopetra have also assisted from time to time.

17. Four copper plates with six subjects have been preserved by the equally well-known engraver deacon Efthymios (1856-1859), who *"in his engravings follows the Athonite style but was in the habit of embellishing his compositions with the addition of minor folk elements, which give his work a personal style"*. A further three plates in the collection could probably be assigned to the same engraver.

18. In 1782, the *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν,* an anthology of Patristic texts concerning prayer, was printed in Venice. The significance of this publication was such that it gave its name to the spiritual renaissance of the time.

Antimensia

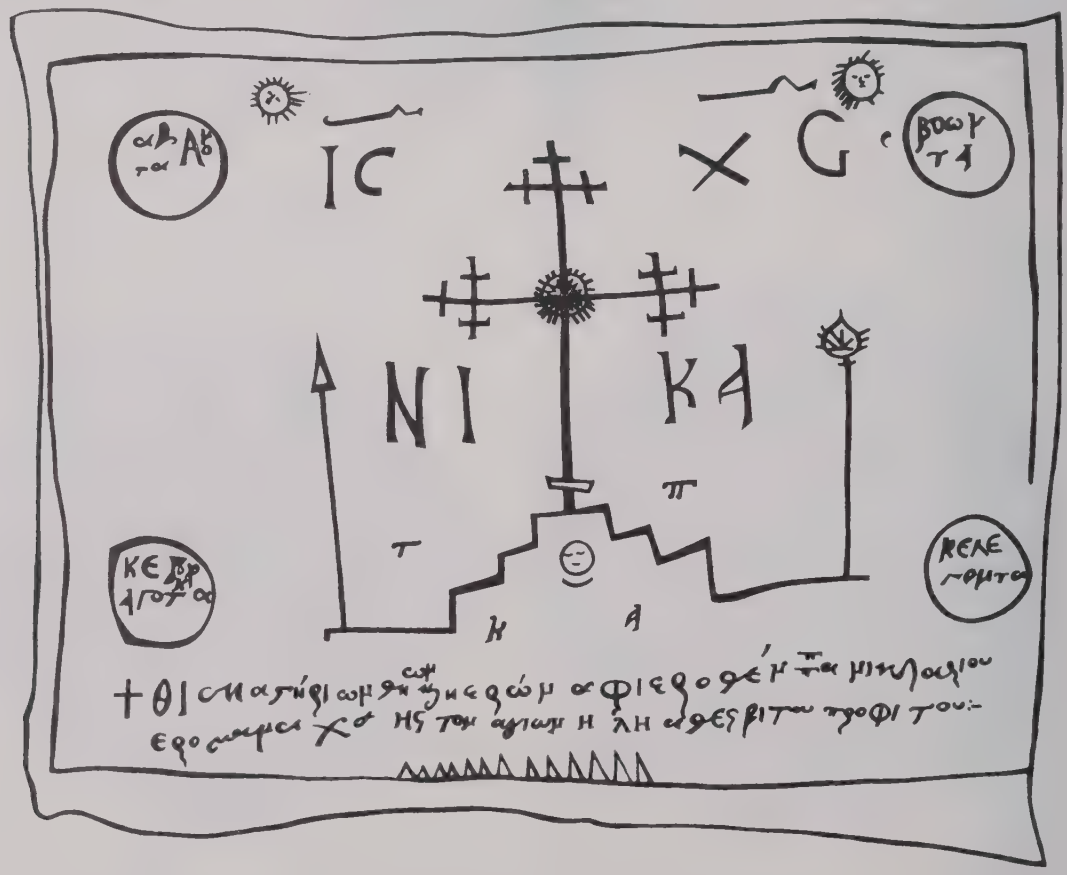
1. A complete catalogue of these has been drawn up by the present author and is in the Monastery' s sacristy. On the *antimension* see in general Gedeon, 1917, Trembelas, 1928, Theodorou, 1963, Panotis, 1963.

2. The chronicler Theophanes relates that on Easter Day 776, *"an antimension having been brought"*, the Divine Liturgy was celebrated by the Patriarch in the Hippodrome of Constantinople (PG 108, l. 908).

3. The word is derived from the prefix ἀντί ('instead of') and the Latin *mensa* ('table'), and thus signifies 'instead of a table'.

4. For other uses of it apart from the Liturgy, see Theocharis, 1971.

5. The inscriptions on *antimensia* can be divided into the formally dedicatory and the liturgical. In the former, which are invariable feature of this ornament, their use is



Illus. 39 Antimension. Painted on material. 16th century (?) (420 x 545) (p. 249).

determined and the year of their consecration and the name of the bishop who consecrated them are recorded. Later, the names of the engraver, the donor and the place and date of its production (or renovation) of the wood or copper engraving (see fig. 162) were added. The liturgical inscriptions on the older *antimensia* consist of the familiar ligatures of letters of the monastic Great Schema (illus. 39), and in later ones of hymns from Matins of Holy Saturday and Easter or from scriptural passages relating to the Passion, Resurrection and Holy Eucharist.

6. The dates refer to the known years of artistic activity of the engravers; see also Papastratos, 1986, p. 609.

7. Papastratos, 1986, pp. 597-608.

8. In a Russian collection from the 12th century there is an *antimension* with same iconographic programme, which lends support to this view on the decoration of the ornament during the Byzantine period (see Subotic, 1984).

9. The *"Prophet Elijah"* of the inscription is probably the *kathisma* which was purchased by the Monastery's founder, Ioannis Uglješa († 1371): *"in the region of the Protaton... a kathisma of the holy prophet Elijah;"* it is now a dependency of the Stavroniketa Monastery.

10. This iconographic type, which imitates that of the embroidered *epitaphios* of the period, is represented in the collection by a group of four *antimensia*. One of these is the work of the engraver-monk Parthenios of Elasson. See Papastratos, pp. 545-546.

11. Here the engraver is copying the *antimension* of Makarios Notaras, Bishop of Corinth, which was printed in Venice in 1769.

12. Papastratos, 1986, p. 550.

13. Papastratos, 1986, p. 27.

Simonopetra in Paintings and Engravings

1. See: L. Droulia – A. Koumarianou – E. Frangiskos – P. Moullas – G.P. Savidis – A. Angelou, *Περιηγήσεις στόν ἑλληνικό χῶρο* (Ἐπιλεγόμενα Κ.Θ. Δημαρᾶς), Athens 1968.

2. Among the sumptuous illustrated publications of the 18th century with depictions of ancient ruins are: J. Stuart – N. Revett, The Antiquities of Athens, 4 vols, London 1762-1816.

J. Stuart – N. Revett, *Ionian Antiquities*, 5 vols, London 1769-1815.

J.-D. Le Roy, *Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*, Paris 1758.

M.-G.-F.-A. Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*, 2 vols, Paris 1782-1822.

3. See: J. Mordaunt-Crook, *The Greek Revival*, London 1972.

4. Below, in chronological order, are some of those which stand out for the quality and variety of their illustration:

E.-D. Clarke, *Travels in various Countries of Europe*, 6 vols, Cambridge, 1810-1823.

J.-C. Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and other Provinces of Turkey in Europe...*, 2 vols, London 1813.

William Haygarth, *Greece, a poem...*, London 1814.

Edward Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*, 2 vols, London 1819.

Comte de Forbin, *Voyage dans le Levant*, Paris 1819.

T.-S. Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, 2 vols, London 1820.

J. Thürmer, *Ansichten von Athen*, Rome 1823-1826.

H.-W. Williams, *Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands*, 2 vols, London 1820.

Joseph Cartwright, *Views in the Ionian Islands*, London 1821.

Louis Duprè, *Voyage à Athènes et Constantinople*, Paris 1825.

5. For European works on philhellenic subjects, see: E.-G. Mykoniatis, *Τό Εἰκοσιένα στή ζωγραφική: Συμβολή στή μελέτη τῆς εἰκονογραφίας τοῦ ἀγώνα*, doctoral thesis, University of Thessaloniki 1979; F.-M. Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece*, London 1981, pp. 19-62, with the relevant bibliography. On travellers' landscape painting generally see S.A. Papadopoulos, *Ἡ ἐλεύθερη Ἑλλάς καί ἡ ἐπιστημονική ἀποστολή τοῦ Μορέως, Τό λεύκωμα Πεϋτιέ*, Athens 1971.

6. What has been undertaken here is a first attempt to present the relevant visual material, which we have either located in original works of foreign travellers' art or in Greek painting and engraving, or have selected from the plates of illustrated travel books. We believe that this work will contribute to the progress of a more systematic and composite study of all visual material related to Mt Athos in general.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE DEPICTIONS OF SIMONOPETRA

a. View of part of the Holy Mountain with a depiction of the Monasteries of Simonopetra, Dionysiou and Gregoriou, end of the 17th-early 18th century. Woodcut 390 x 260. National Museum of Belgrade (see: Papastratos, 1986, p. 386, note 3, fig. 2).

b. The western side of the Athos peninsula with depictions of the various monasteries and of Simonopetra. Copper engraving of Ioannis Komninos, 1701 (see General Bibliography).

c. View of Simonopetra and its site, 1744. Ink drawing. Vasily Grigorovic Barskij (see General Bibliography).

d. View of Simonopetra, 1836, copper engraving (see Papastratos, No. 498).

e. View of Simonopetra and the aqueduct, 1849, copper engraving. Hon. Robert Curzon, 1849 (see General Bibliography).

f. View of Simonopetra, 1856. Watercolour 486 x 315. Edward Lear (1812-1888). Private collection. See F.-M. Tsigakou, *Edward Lear in Greece*, doctoral thesis, University College, London 1977, cat. no. 397, plate 25.

g. View of Simonopetra, 1856. Water-colour 485 x 315. Edward Lear (1812-1888). Tate Gallery, London. See Tsigakou, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 398.

h. View of Simonopetra, 1856. Black ink drawing 95 x 145. Edward Lear (1812-1888). See Tsigakou, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 751, plate 424.

i. View of Simonopetra, 1868. Copper engraving Ioannis Kaldis (see Papastratos, no. 499).

j. View of Simonopetra, 1870. Copper engraving of Ioannis Kaldis (see Papastratos, no. 500).

k. View of Simonopetra, 1887. Copper engraving. A. Riley, *Athos, or, the Mountain of the Monks*, London 1887.

l. View of Simonopetra, 1908. Zinc engraving. From a guide to the Holy Mountain dated 1908 (in Russian).

m. View of Simonopetra, 1922. Etching. Lykourgos Koyevinas (1887-1940). *Le Mont Athos. Suite de douze eaux-fortes originales et inédites par Lyc. Kogevinas*, Préface de Charles Diel, Paris 1922.

n. View of Simonopetra, 1927. Coloured lithograph. F. Perilla, *Le Mont Athos*, Thessaloniki 1927.

o. General view of the monasteries of the Holy Mountain, 1933. Oil painting. Theophilos Hadzimichail (1866/73-1934). Theophilos Museum, Vareia, Mytilene.

p. View of Simonopetra, 1933. Woodcut. Efthymios Papadimitriou (1895-1959). *Athos. Fifteen original woodcuts of drawings by Efthymios Papadimitriou*, Athens 1935.

The same artist executed the cover of the book: Z. Papantoniou, *Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, Athens 1934.

q. View of Simonopetra, 1934. Woodcut. Polykleitos Rengos (1903-1984). *Mont Athos. 21 Bois Gravés par Paul Regos. Préface par Charles Diehl*, Paris 1934. Polykleitos Rengos also painted for the following works:

r. "Climbing to Simonopetra", 1978. Mixed technique on canvas. Bank of Macedonia and Thrace, Thessaloniki.

s. "Simonopetra in a storm", 1980. Mixed technique on canvas. Costas Rengos Collection, Thessaloniki.

t. "The arsanas of Simonopetra". Mixed technique on canvas. Costas Rengos Collection, Thessaloniki.

u. "Simonopetra". Mixed technique on canvas. G. Peios Collection, Athens.

Included in the visual material dealing with Simonopetra is a number of photographs belonging to the last quarter of the 19th century. The usefulness of the lithographs of the Monastery contained in various 20th century guides to Mt Athos, as well as of the plates in albums on the subject, such as the publications of Rallis Kopsidis: *Σταυροί στόν Ἄθωνα*, Athens 1963, and *15 Ξυλογραφίες γιά τό Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, Athens 1968, should not be overlooked. Also deserving of mention here are the impressions of distinguished foreign travellers of the 20th century who have visited Athos, such as Le Corbusier (see Y. Simeoforidis, *Le Corbusier. Κείμενα γιά τήν Ἑλλάδα. Φωτογραφίες καί Σχέδια*, Athens 1987). An important collection of paintings and engravings by Greek and foreign artist-travellers of the 20th century is kept in the Monastery's library.

7. For information on the medieval period see John Mandeville, *The Voiage and Travaile... which Treateth of the Way to Hierusalem...* London 1927. The English traveller Mandeville visited Greece in the mid 14th century (see K. Simopoulos, *Ξένοι ταξιδιῶτες στήν Ἑλλάδα*, 7 vols, Athens 1976-1981, vol. I, p. 247). Information on the monastic life of Athos is also given by the Spanish envoy of King Henry III of Castille, Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, who travelled in Greece in 1403 (see Simopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-284).

8. Buondelmonti visited Greece in 1408 (see E. Legrand, *Description des isles de l'Archipel par C. Buondelmonti; version Grecque par un anonyme...*, Paris 1897.

9. Cyriac's travels in Greece belong to the period 1412-1452 (see Simopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 303).

10. The *Isolario* (that is, an illustrated navigation 'book' with depictions of the islands — Italian 'isole' — and the coastline) represents one of the earliest attempts to map the Aegean (see Simopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-301).

11. Pierre Belon du Mans, *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie...*, Paris 1553.

12. See F.-M. Tsigakou, *Thomas Hope (1769-1831). Εἰκόνες ἀπό τήν Ἑλλάδα τοῦ 18ου αἰώνα*, Athens 1985, pp. 151, 228, plates 60-61.

13. The English landscape artist Edward Lear (1812-1888) travelled in Greece in 1848/49, and from 1855 to 1864 lived in Corfu. The alluring picture of Greece presented by Byron and British rule over the Ionian Islands was generally responsible for the frequent presence of Greek subjects in the artistic production of the period. While, however, for the majority of British artists the approach to the Greek landscape went no further than a romantic devotion to antiquity, Lear, who was gifted with greater sensitivity and fluency in his drawing, succeeded in 'decoding' the content and atmosphere of nature in Greece. What renders his work as an artist of the Greek landscape particularly important is not only the quantity of the work he produced with Greece as its subject (I have identified 3,000 such works), but the attempt which he made to interpret, as opposed to merely 'photographing', the landscape, as well as his strong sense for the Greek light. Lear's compositions are usually horizontal with an open sky and a series of levels receding into the background, and thus cause the eye to be drawn towards the most distant horizons. The austerity of the materials used in his drawings is absolutely in line with his need to express himself directly and vividly (see Tsigakou, *op. cit.*, 1977).

14. For centuries the theoreticians had seen landscape as *"the parasite on the lofty tree of art"*. It was during the 19th century that landscape painting was not only at last accepted as an independent artistic category, but made a decisive contribution to the liberation of painting from the limiting representational subject matter of the past.

15. See C. Christou, *Ἡ ἑλληνική ζωγραφική 1832-1922*, Athens 1981, pp. 44-85.

16. For a general bibliography on the Greek artists mentioned here, see T. Spiteris, *Τρεῖς αἰῶνες νεοελληνικῆς τέχνης 1660-1967*, vols 1-3, Athens 1979; also *Οἱ Ἕλληνες Ζωγράφοι*, vols 1-2, Melissa, Athens 1974, 1976.

The Greek Documents

1. For the archives of Mt Athos, see M. Manoussacas, "'Ελληνικά χειρόγραφα καί ἔγγραφα τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους. Βιβλιογραφία", *ΕΕΒΣ* 32 (1963), pp. 391-414; C. Patrinelis, *Θρησκευτική καί Ἠθική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. I (1962), cols 941-943; K. Chryssohoïdis, "Τά Ἀρχεῖα τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους", *Ἐποπτεία* 96 (December 1984), pp. 1249-1251.

2. Smyrnakis 1903, pp. 133-134; cf. also Vamvakas 1985, p. 124, no. 21.

3. The date of 1368 rather than 1363 is proposed by Kašić 1976, pp. 51-53.

4. The fact that the document is a forgery was pointed out by N. Oikonomidès (*Actes de Dionysiou*, Paris 1968, p.6), while criticism of the date of 1363 and, in part, of the authenticity of the document is to be found in P. Lemerle and A. Soloviev, "Trois Chartes des Souverains Serbes Conservées au Monastère de Kutlumus", *Annales de l' Institut Kondakov* 11 (1940), p. 139, G. Ostrogorsky 1965,

pp. 112-113, and V. Mošin in the introduction (p. 8) to the reprint (*Variorum Reprints*, London 1974) of S. Solovjev and V. Mošin, *Grčke Povelje Srpskih Vladara*, vol. I, Belgrade 1936.

5. Kašić 1976, p. 40, lines 13-16.

6. *Actes de Xénophon*, ed. Denise Papachryssanthou, Paris 1986, pp. 214-217, no. 31.

7. Kašić 1976, p. 46, lines 19-30.

8. It should be noted that Koumoutzena came under Ottoman control in 1364/65 and remained there (Ostrogorsky 1965, pp. 155-160).

9. Kašić 1976, p. 48, lines 23-25.

10. Archive of the Pantokrator Monastery, document no. 14, the deed of delivery of Phocas Sevastopoulos and Ioannis Princeps Cheilas, April, indiction 11 (1388) (A. Pardos, *Ἱερά Μονή Παντοκράτορος. Ἐπιτομές τοῦ Ἀρχείου*, in press, Centre for Byzantine Studies, National Research Foundation, no. 14). An inventory of the lands of Megiste Laura by the same officials is mentioned in *Actes de Lavra,* ed. P. Lemerle – N. Svoronos – A. Guillou – Denise Papachryssanthou, vol. IV, Paris 1982, p. 147; cf. also vol. III, App. XVIII, p. 218, lines 2 and 9-10.

11. Simonopetra Monastery archive, document no. 21, lines 21-29; cf. Vamvakas 1985, p. 124.

12. Cf. Vamvakas 1985, p. 111, no. 1.

13. Simonopetra Monastery archive, document no. 22, lines 16-17; cf. Vamvakas 1985, p. 126. A similar document is located in the archive of Xeropotamou Monastery (Evdokimos of Xeropotamou 1971[2], p. 174, no. 78).

14. Simonopetra Monastery archive, document no. 24, line 11; cf. Vamvakas 1985, pp. 127-128.

15. Simonopetra Monastery archive, document no. 79, line 4; cf. Evdokimos of Xeropotamou 1971[2], which, however, gives an erroneous date.

16. Most recently published (on the basis of a later copy) by Kašić 1976, pp. 38-50, with a parallel translation into Serbian; cf. Vamvakas 1985, p. 116, no. 6, which contains the bibliography relevant to the document.

17. The period claimed for the refounding of Simonopetra is also that at which the Serbian nobles Gerasimos Branković (Nikolaos Radonja) and Antonios Bagaš (Pagasis) were reconstructing the St Paul Monastery (G. Subotić, "La restauration du monastère de Saint-Paul au XIVe siècle", *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 22 (1983), pp. 207-258, in Serbian); cf. also *Actes de Dionysiou*, ed. N. Oikonomidès, Paris 1968, p. 6.

18. The winter grazing at Longos is referred to as far back as 1516/17 (Vamvakas 1985, p. 130, no. 29), and there is evidence of the Monastery's lands on Lemnos from 1557 (J. Haldon, "Limnos Monastic Holdings and the Byzantine State, ca. 1261-1453" in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, ed. A. Bryer and H. Lowry, Birmingham - Washington 1986, pp. 171-172). The Tryge *metochi,* in particular, is stated to have belonged to Simonopetra in a. H. 996 (1588/89), the year in which it was sold to the Ottoman Ali Celepi, as stated by a Patriarchal *sigillium* of Grigorios V, of 1797 (archive of the Simonopetra Monastery, no. 14, lines 2-13).

19. A. Papadoupoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. I, St. Petersburg 1891, pp. 389-393 (photographic reproduction, Brussels 1963).

20. *Actes du Prôtaton*, ed. Denise Papachryssanthou, Paris 1975, p. 145, no. 114.

21. *Actes d' Esphigménou*, ed. L. Petit – W. Regel, St Petersburg 1906, p. 25, line 25.

22. The script of the Simonopetra documents on ff. 164[v]-165, 217[v], 217[v]-218, 219 and 219[v] is very similar to that of ff. 348-351, and also with the script of the greater part of ms. 106 in the collection of the St Savas Monastery in Palestine, which was copied by Bishop Germanos. This monk of St Sava is not to be confused with his contemporary of the same name who was Patriarch of Jerusalem (see I. Fokilidis, *Ἡ Ἱερά Λαύρα Σάβα τοῦ Ἡγιασμένου*, Alexandria 1927, pp. 516-519).

23. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

24. Dmitrievskij 1891, pp. 1020-1023.

25. V. Barskij, "Περί τοῦ Μοναστηρίου, τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Σιμόπετρα", translation and commentary by the monk Vasileios Grolimund, *Ἐποπτεία* 96 (December 1984), p. 1196.

26. Evlogios Kourilas, "Τά Ἁγιορειτικά Ἀρχεῖα καί ὁ Κατάλογος τοῦ Πορφυρίου Οὐσπένσκη", *ΕΕΒΣ* 8 (1931), pp. 74-77.

27. K. Frearitis, "Αἱ τρεῖς Χερσόνησοι τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς, Παλλήνη, Σιθωνία, Ἀκτή", *Πανδώρα* 12 (1861), p. 294.

28. The Branković document is mentioned by J. Müller, "Historische Denkmäler in den Klöstern Athos", in F. Miklosich, *Slavische Bibliothek*, vol. I, Vienna 1851, p. 173.

29. Evdokimos of Xeropotamou 1971[2], p. 174, no. 77.

30. The deed of dedication of Ieremias and the two Patriarchal *sigillia* were published by Symeonidis, 1984, pp. 54-63.

31. M. Yedeon, *Πατριαρχικαί Ἐφημερίδες*, Athens 1926, p. 27 (part of a facsimile, 28). The content of this document is related in detail in a Patriarchal letter from Anthimos II of 1623 (Pantokrator Monastery archive, document no. 62; A. Pardos, *op. cit.* The Patriarchal letter of Metrophanes III, of 1568 (A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Δύο κώδικες τῆς βιβλιοθήκης Νικολάου Καρατζᾶ", *Παρνασσός* 8 (1904), pp. 30-31) may refer to the settlement of a boundary dispute on marching property belonging to Athonite monasteries, including Simonopetra. This document is included in the Ierax collection (C. Patrinelis, "Πατριαρχικά γράμματα καί ἄλλα ἔγγραφα καί σημειώματα τοῦ ΙΣΤ΄ - ΙΗ΄ αἰῶνος ἐκ τοῦ κώδικος τοῦ Ἱέρακος (Ἐθν. Βιβλιοθ. Ἑλλ. 1474)", *Ἐπετηρίς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου* 12 (1962), p. 118). However, the document guarantees the monks of Simonopetra the ownership and possession of an area which is not specified.

The Turkish Documents

1. See V. Dimitriadis, "Τά τουρκικά ἔγγραφα τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους", *Ἐποπτεία* 96 (1984), pp. 1242-1243.

2. For a bibliography, see Dimitriadis 1984, p. 1243, and also V. Dimitriadis, "Τά τουρκικά ἔγγραφα τοῦ Πρωτάτου", *Πρωτᾶτον* 2 (1984), pp. 70-72.

3. The restrictions of space in this volume for a presentation of material concerning the Monastery's archives and documents do not make possible the publication of this study as it was originally written, with a brief note of the contents of almost all the Turkish documents. It is to be hoped that the article will be published in due course in its initial form.

4. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my warmest thanks to all the Fathers of the Monastery, and

particularly to Abbot Aimilianos and priest-monk Ioustinos, for their wholehearted support during the process of recording and microfilming the Turkish archives of the Monastery. It should be stressed that the Holy Monastery of Simonopetra was, some years ago, the first foundation to willingly open up its Turkish archives for classification and recording. For that reason, it is just that I should commence my presentation of the Athonite Turkish archives with its documents.

5. Smyrnakis 1903, p. 588, Vamvakas 1985, p. 108. The Monastery's archives survived the last great fire, that of 1891, but its library did not (Smyrnakis 1903, pp. 588, 595, N. Oikonomides, *Actes de Dionysiou*, Paris 1968, p. 6).

6. Vamvakas (1985, p. 109) has already pointed out that Greek documents from Simonopetra are to be found in other Athonite monasteries.

7. The following brief table shows the files into which the documents have been divided:

File	Type of Document	No	From	To
A	Firmans	43	989/1581	1286/1870
B	Hüccets	110	955/1548	1279/1862
C	Buyuruldus	9	1207/1792	1270/1854
D	Surets	14	1015/1607	1286/1870
E	Ahdnames	2		
F	Fetvas	18		
G	Miscellaneous	100	972/1564	1302/1887
	Total	296		

8. Vamvakas 1985, pp. 119-120.

9. For the importance of the vakıfnâme for the monasteries of Mount Athos, see P. Lemerle – R. Wittek, "Recherches sur l'Histoire et le Statut des Monasteres Athonites sous la Domination Turque", *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Orientale* 3 (1948), pp. 429ff.

10. For Zichna, see Lemerle – Wittek 1948, p. 447.

Fig. 284 Disguised double-headed eagle – decorative heading. Founder's chrysobull of Michael the Brave. 28 August 1599 (p. 282).

11. Vamvakas 1985, p. 107.

12. Smyrnakis 1903, p. 591, Vamvakas 1985, pp. 143-144.

13. Lemerle – Wittek 1948, pp. 442, 454, 462.

14. For the 'diya', the 'blood price' paid as compensation by the culprits to the relatives of those dying a violent death (or to the state, if there were no relatives), see E. Tiyan, "Diya", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 2, 2, Leiden 1965, pp. 340-343. See also A. Matkovski, *Le Diyet, (prix du sang) en Macedoine et sur la peninsule balkanique pendant la domination Turque* (in Serbian, with a French synopsis), Skopje 1973.

15. Vamvakas 1985, p. 111.

16. This fire must be the same as that mentioned by Smyrnakis (1903, p. 588) as having taken place on 8 June 1625, according to a note in a breviary burned in the fire of 1891.

17. Lemerle – Wittek 1948, pp. 445, 468-469.

18. Vamvakas 1985, p. 145.

19. This document is of particular interest because it states that Kassandra was at this time in the outright ownership (mülk) of Gazanfer Aga, who was kizlar agasi (chief eunuch) of the Palace. According to the same document, Kassandra had previously been a hass of the Sultan, but in 1574 Murat III, when he ascended to the throne, he gave it to Gazanfer Aga as a reward for the part he played in Murat's takeover. By early 1591 Gazanfer Aga had turned Kassandra into a vakıf; this must have taken place in the second half of 1590. (For Gazanfer Aga and his vakıf, see V. Dimitriadis, "Φορολογικές κατηγορίες τῶν χωριῶν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατά τήν Τουρκοκρατία", *Μακεδονικά* 20 (1980), Thessaloniki, pp. 430-431.

20. The Byzantine documents make no mention of Simonopetra's lands on Lemnos. See J. Haldon, "Limnos Monastic Holdings and the Byzantine State: ca. 1261-1453", *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* ed. A. Bryer – H. Lowry, Birmingham - Washinghton 1986, pp. 170-172, which gives the relevant bibliography and contains a map showing the *metochia* of the Athonite monasteries on Lemnos. The Trygi metochi is referred to in a chrysobull of 1363 by which Uglješa, Despot of Serbia, renovated the Monastery, but this document is a forgery (Oikonomidès *op. cit.*,, p. 6).

21. See Smyrnakis 1903, p. 596.

22. For the relevant Greek documents, see Vamvakas 1985, pp. 118, 140-141.

23. Vamvakas 1985, pp. 126-128.

24. Vamvakas 1985, p. 118.

25. Vamvakas 1985, pp. 133-134.

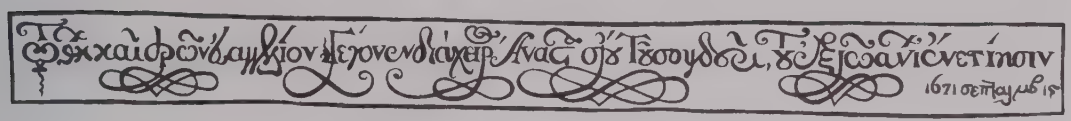
The Romanian Documents

1. On Romanian - Athonite relations, see Năsturel, 1986 (with bibliography), of an earlier date, Cioran, 1938, Bodogae, 1940. For a new view of the beginnings of these relations, see Nastase, 1979, p. 131 et seq.

2. References from N. Iorga (see bibliographical evidence Nastase, 1981, p. 207).

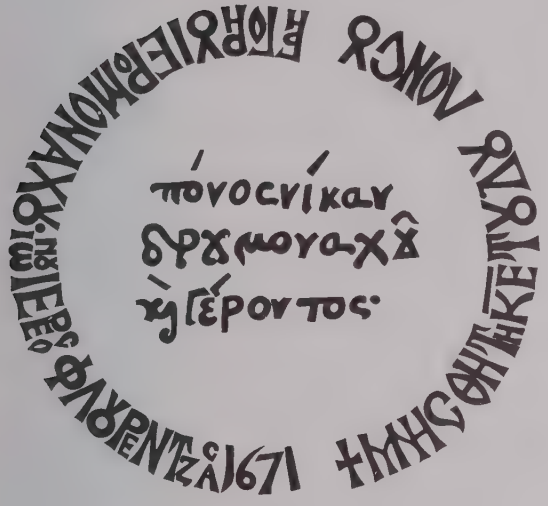
3. The more important documents were called 'chrysobulls' even when their seals were only of wax.

Illus. 40 Scratched inscription on the lip of a chalice. Sacristy.



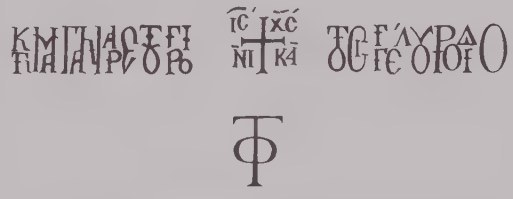
Illus. 41 Engraved inscription on gilt Gospel binding. Sacristy (p. 165).

Illus. 42 Inscription on the outer surface of the mounting of the lip of a cup. Sacristy (p. 164).

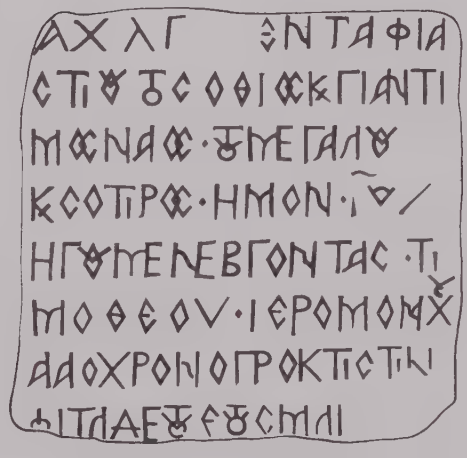


Illus. 43 Scratched inscription on the base of a silver gilt cup. Sacristy (p. 166).

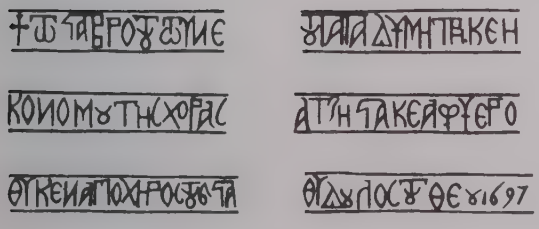
Illus. 44 Inscription on the left side of an icon of the Mother of God. Katholikon.



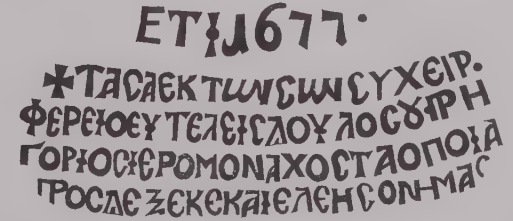
Illus. 45 Inscription on a brass icon cover. 1777. Katholikon.



Illus. 46 Brief building inscription in the Monastery archive.



Illus. 47 Engraved inscription on the handle of a benediction cross. Sacristy.



Illus. 48 Engraved inscription on silver gilt Gospel binding. Sacristy (p. 166).

The Inscriptions

1. To date, no systematic collection of the Byzantine inscriptions has been made. The critical bibliography concerning Byzantine epigraphy published up to 1977 in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* was collected and published in Jel. Stanojevich Allen – I. Sevcenko, *Literature in Various Byzantine Disciplines, 1892-1977. I. Epigraphy*, London 1981. See also the handbooks by Aikaterini Christofilopoulou, *Βυζαντινή Ἱστορία, A. 324-610*, Athens 1975, pp. 37-43 and J. Karayannopoulos – G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324-1453)*, Wiesbaden 1982, pp. 162-172; the latter of these, in particular, provides a systematic bibliography on the topic. Cf. P. Lemerle, "Instrumenta Studiorum - Epigraphie", *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, London 1967, pp. 482-483, with basic guidelines and principles for the study and investigation of Byzantine epigraphy.

2. For Byzantine and post-Byzantine inscriptions in Greece, see, selectively, the following recent publications: Kanto C. Fatourou, "Οἰκοδομικές ἐπιγραφές τοῦ Μοναστηριοῦ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Θεολόγου στήν Πάτμο" in *Ἐπιγραφές τῆς Πάτμου*, Athens 1966, pp. 111-135; C.N. Bakirtzis, " Ἐπιγραφή στούς Ἁγίους Ἀναργύρους Καστοριᾶς", *Μακεδονικά* 11 (1971), pp. 324-334, *(=Πεζά κείμενα μέ τίτλο ἀρχαιολογικαί μελέται*, Thessaloniki 1978, pp. 9-28); V. Petrakos, *Νεώτερες ἐπιγραφές τῆς Μυτιλήνης*, Athens 1972; J.-M. Speiser, "Inventaires, en vue d' un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance. I. Les inscriptions de Thessalonique", *TM* 5 (1973), pp. 145-180; Anna Avramea, " ' Ὁ Τζάσις τῶν Μεληγγῶν'. Νέα ἀνάγνωσις ἐπιγραφῶν ἐξ Οἰτύλου", *Παρνασσός* 16 (1974), pp. 288-300; N. Moutsopoulos, "La morphologie des inscriptions byzantines et post-byzantines de Grèce", *Cyrillomethodianum* 3 (1975), pp. 53-105; *ejusd.*, *Συμβολή στή Μορφολογία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γραφῆς. Λεύκωμα Βυζαντινῶν καί Μεταβυζαντινῶν Ἐπιγραφῶν*, Thessaloniki 1977; E. Tsigaridas – K. Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Κατάλογος χριστιανικῶν ἐπιγραφῶν στά Μουσεῖα τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης*, Thessaloniki 1979; D. Feissel – J.-M. Spieser, "Inventaires... II. Les inscriptions de Thessalonique. Supplément", *TM* 7 (1979), pp. 303-348; Cat. Asdracha – C. Bakirtzis, "Inscriptions byzantines de Thrace (VIIIe-XVe siècles). Edition et commentaire historique", *Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 35 (1980) (published 1986), A. Μελέτες, pp. 241-282; D.Z. Sofianos, " Ἱστορικά σχόλια σέ ἐπιγραφές, ἐπιγράμματα, χαράγματα καί ἐνθυμήσεις τῆς μονῆς Δουσίκου", *Μεσαιωνικά καί Νέα Ἑλληνικά* 1(1984), pp. 9-70; D. Feissel – A. Philippidis-Braat, "Inventaires... III. Inscriptions du Péloponnèse (à l' exception de Mistra)", *TM* 9 (1985), pp. 267-395; Anna Avraméa – D. Feissel, "Inventaires... IV. Inscriptions de Thessalie (à l' exception des Météores)", *TM* 10 (1987), pp. 357-398; Anna Avraméa, "Bornes et propriétés foncières de Constantinople et de Thrace", *TM* 10 (1987), pp. 399-404; Anna Avraméa – T. Tanoulas, "Τά χαράγματα τῶν Προπυλαίων", *Ἕνατο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινῆς καί Μεταβυζαντινῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας καί Τέχνης*, Athens 1989, pp. 21-22, and D.Z. Sofianos, *Μετέωρα - Ὁδοιπορικό*, Meteora 1990. I would like to express my warmest thanks to my colleague Anna Avraméa for her advice on the bibliography.

3. See, for example, the inscriptions on the famous staurotheke of Limburg (10th century): J. Koder, "Zu den Versinschriften der Limburger Staurothek", *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 37(1985), pp. 11-31, and Laskarina Bouras, "Ὁ Βασίλειος Λεκαπηνός παραγγελιοδότης ἔργων τέχνης" in *Κωνσταντίνος Ζ΄ ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος καί ἡ ἐποχή του*, Athens 1989, pp. 397-434.

4. See the publication by S.A. Papadopoulos, "Ἐπιγραφές Ἱ. Μονῆς Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Θεολόγου Πάτμου" in *Ἐπιγραφές τῆς Πάτμου*, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-103. For thinking about post-Byzantine inscriptions, see the pioneering article by J. Laurent, "Sur la valeur des inscriptions grecques postérieures à 1453", *BCH* 22 (1898), pp. 569-572. The tremendous linguistic and stylistic interest of these inscriptions, with their singular and simplified spelling, their syntactical variety, and the social stratification of their dedicators, etc., should not be overlooked; however, the bibliography is virtually non-existent, particularly for the post-Byzantine period.

5. Millet – Pargoire – Petit, 1904, pp. 178-180 (nos. 522-536).

6. *Ibid.*, nos. 522-527.

7. These results stemmed from two academic missions (1982 and 1984) organised by the Centre for Byzantine Studies of the National Research Foundation, in association with the Monastery itself, whose purpose was to catalogue the epigraphical material there. The fruit of this research was A. Markopoulos – Priest-monk Ioustinos, *Ἐπιγραφές τῆς Ἱ.Μ. Σίμωνος Πέτρας, 1567-1913* (in press, National Research Foundation, Centre for Byzantine Studies). Except where another reference is given, all the citations of Simonopetra inscriptions are to this work.

8. See also Millet – Pargoire – Petit, 1904, no. 529.

9. *Ibid.*, no. 536.

10. Orthography as in the original; the inscription was published by Millet – Pargoire – Petit, 1904, no. 533b.

The Manuscripts

1. Kǎsić, 1976, p. 40, line 47.

2. *Actes de Lavra III de 1321-1500*, ed. P. Lemerle – A. Guillou – N. Svoronos – Denise Papachryssanthou, Paris 1979, nos. 147, pp. 105-107; cf. Ninoslava Radošević – G. Subotić, "Bogorodica Gavaliotisa u Vodenu", *Zbornit Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 27(1989), pp. 240-243.

3. Lambros, 1891, pp. 161-162; Dmitrievskij, 1891, pp. 1020-1023.

4. Lambros, 1895-1900. For the bibliography of the Athonite manuscripts, see M. Manoussacas, "Ἑλληνικά χειρόγραφα καί ἔγγραφα τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους", *ΕΕΒΣ* 32 (1963), pp. 379-390.

5. Lambros 1895, pp. 114-129. M. Gedeon recorded the copyist's note and commented on part of the contents of a manuscript belonging to the Monastery which was copied in 1643 by the priest-monk Nektarios at the Strophades Monastery. This manuscript may be identified with that numbered 161 in Lambros's catalogue, which, however, omits the copyist's note (" Ἱερά μοναχῶν παλαιῶν ἔργα", *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀλήθεια* 32 (1912), pp. 324-325).

6. Curzon 1897[2], p. 291, Anastasiou 1982, p. 355.

7. H. Omont, *Minoïde Mynas et ses missions en Orient (1840-1855)*, Paris 1916, p. 44. However, he did make a catalogue of the Monastery library, which is contained in the Ms. Parisinus Suppl. Gr. 654, fols 252-256.

8. For Archimandrite Antonin's visit to Simonopetra, see Antonin Kapustin 1864, pp. 276-282.

9. Gerasimos' gift is mentioned in an *ex libris* note in his own hand (no. 138), which was published by Dmitrievskij, 1917, p. 383. Our knowledge of Gerasimos comes from copies of documents in a manuscript of the Patriarchate Library in Jerusalem, fols 169-169^{v}, 378-378^{v} and 478; cf. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 1, St Petersburg 1891, pp. 392-393.

10. Politis 1957, pp. 355-384.

11. For the scriptoria of the Hodegon, Xeropotamou and Dionysiou Monasteries, see L. Politis, "Eine Schreiberschule im Kloster ton Hodegon", *BZ* 51(1958), pp. 17-36 and 261-287, and Politis 1977, pp. 371-381.

12. Vogel – Gardthausen 1909, pp. 218-219.

13. Dmitrievskij 1917, pp. 332-335, contains extracts from the service book.

14. G. Kitchin, *Catalogus Codicum Mss. qui in Bibliotheca Aedis Christi apud Oxoniensis adseruantur*, Oxford 1867, p. 30.

15. Vogel – Gardthausen 1909, p. 240, in which, however, the manuscripts are divided between the entries Κύριλλος ἁμαρτωλὸς μοναχός and Κύριλλος.

16. This manuscript is today in Yale University Library (C. Faye – W. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, New York 1962, p. 46, no. 251).

17. Vogel – Gardthausen 1909, pp. 99-100, in which, however, the manuscripts are divided between the entries Δανιὴλ ἱερομόναχος and Δανιήλ; see also Politis 1957, p. 380.

18. The reference to Symeon as Abbot in 1608 is contained in the copyist's note to Simonopetra manuscript no. 45, and in July 1625 he signed a loan receipt of the monks of Simonopetra (Vamvakas, 1985, p. 135, no. 37).

19. For Loukas of Hungary and Wallachia, see Gheorghie Cront, "Le Chypriote Luca, évêque et métropolite en Valachie (1583-1629)", *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, vol. 3/1, Nicosia 1973, pp. 45-47; Politis 1977, p. 373; Politis [1979], pp. 1-4; Gratziou 1982, passim (see Index), and Olga Gratziou, " Ἡ διακόσμηση στά χειρόγραφα τοῦ Λουκᾶ Οὐγγροβλαχίας τοῦ Κυπρίου", Πρῶτο Διεθνές Συμπόσιο Μεσαιωνικῆς Κυπριακῆς Παλαιογραφίας (3-5 September 1984), *Ἐπετηρίς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἐρευνῶν* 17 (1987-1988), pp. 57-80.

20. For Iakovos of Simonopetra, see Politis 1977, p. 375; Politis [1979], pp. 9-10, and Gratziou 1982, p. 98, note 209.

21. This copyist's note was published by Stathis, 1987a, p. 136, note 5. The name of the patron is probably correct in its form as Vivelis. There is evidence of a Greek merchant called Constantine Vevelis in 17th century Moldavia and Wallachia (F. Dimitrakopoulos, *Ἀρσένιος Ἐλασσόνος (1550-1626), Βίος καί Ἔργο*, Athens 1984, p. 64 and note 56).

22. L. Politis, "Πολυτελῆ Εὐαγγέλια, Ἀφιερώματα τοῦ Ἡγεμόνα τῆς Βλαχίας Ματθαίου Μπασαράμπα". *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 10 (1980-1981), pp. 259-272, tables 67-74.

23. Vogel – Gardthausen 1909, p. 391; F. Dimitrakopoulos, "Παλαιογραφικά καί Μεταβυζαντινά", *Ἐπιστημονική Ἐπετηρίς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν* 27 (1979), pp. 213-215, cf. the same author, "Συμβολή εἰς τούς Καταλόγους ἑλλήνων κωδικογράφων", *ΕΕΒΣ* 45 (1981-1982), p. 303, nos. 85 a, b.

24. Manuscripts by Rafail are to be found in the libraries of Megiste Laura, Dionysiou, Xeropotamou, Karakallou and Esphigmenou.

25. For Grigorios Kanas, see Souloyannis, 1987, p. 61.

26. It is numbered Parisinus Gr. 813; H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. II, Paris 1886, p. 151; cf. the same author, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, vol. II, Paris 1902, p. 857.

27. It is numbered 102: see Archimandrite Vladimir, *Sistematičeskoe Opisanie Rukopisei Moskovskoj Sinodal' noj (Patriaršej) Biblioteki I. Rukopisi Grečeskija*, Moscow 1894, pp. 94-96; cf. Archimandrite Iakovos of Vatopedi, *Ἡ ἐν Μόσχᾳ Συνοδική Βιβλιοθήκη τῶν Χειρογράφων*, Moscow 1896, p. 36, and S. Belokurov, *Arsenij Souchanov*, Moscow 1891, p. 403. The manuscript today belongs to the Historical Museum of Moscow.

28. Curzon 1849^{2}, pp. 291-292; Anastasiou 1892, p. 355.

29. They are numbered British Museum Addit. 39600 (the Acts) and 39610 (the Ladder of St John Climacus). M. Richard, *Inventaire des Manuscrits Grecs du British Museum*, Paris 1952, nos. 76 and 78, respectively.

30. They are numbered Vaticanus Gr. 2524 and 2530: P. Nikolopoulos, "Κώδικες τῆς Βατικανῆς Βιβλιοθήκης ἐκ τῆς Συλλογῆς τοῦ Χαραλάμπους Τσιμαράτου Γενατᾶ", *Πρακτικά Τρίτου Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου*, 23-29 September 1965, vol. 2, Athens 1969, p. 134.

31. It is numbered 1982: V. Beneševič, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Graecorum qui in Monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asseruantur*, vol. III, St Petersburg 1917, p. 291.

32. It is numbered GR I, 66 (Coll. 12057): E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetarum Codices Graeci Manuscripti*, vol. I/1, Rome 1967, pp. 82-83.

33. Nikodemus of Mt Athos, "Πρόλογος εἰς τά Συγγράμματα τοῦ ἐν Ἁγίοις Πατρός ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ", *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀλήθεια* 4 (1883-1884), p. 100. This manuscript may be identified with that recorded in the selective catalogue of Athonite manuscripts prepared by Chrysanthos Notaras (K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη* vol. I, Venice 1872, photostat reprint, Athens 1971).

34. It is numbered 151: Anna Marava-Hadzinikolaou, Christina Toufexi-Paschou, "*Κατάλογος Μικρογραφιῶν Βυζαντινῶν Χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος*", vol. II, *Χειρόγραφα Καινῆς Διαθήκης*, Athens 1985, pp. 164-172, figs. 351-354.

35. I. Bârnea, "Un Manuscris Grecesc cu Miniaturi din Biblioteca Academiei Române", *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 36 (1943), pp. 102-108.

36. This is the manuscript numbered 76 by the Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople, which is now lodged in the library of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Leningrad: Lebedeva 1973, pp. 49-50. Cf. also Papoulidis, *Τό Ρωσικό Ἀρχαιολογικό Ἰνστιτοῦτο Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1894-1914)*, Thessaloniki 1987, p. 203. See also P. Géhin "Un copiste de Rhodes de la fin du XIIe siècle: La prêtre Symeon Kalliandrès", *Scriptorium* 40 (1986), pp. 172-173 (with the rest of the bibliography on the manuscript).

37. Dmitrievskij 1917, pp. 317-325, which gives extracts; cf. also Lebedeva 1973, p. 83.

38. See p. 297 and note 16.

39. See p. 297 and note 14.

40. The collection was catalogued by this author during

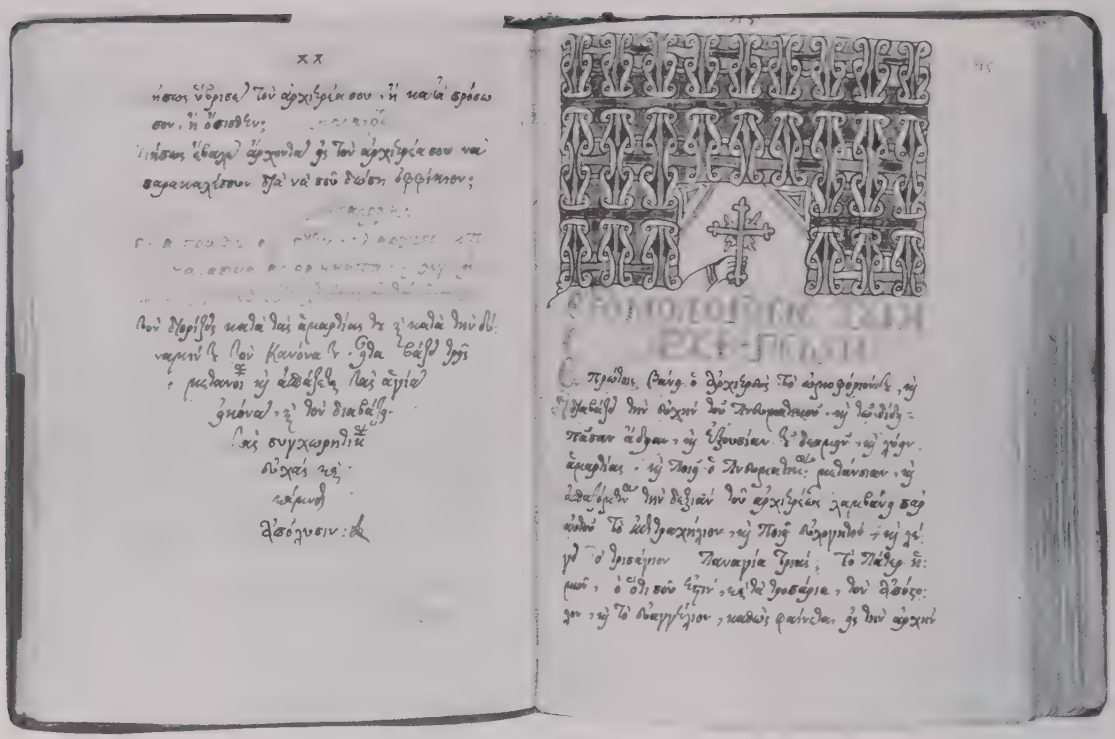


Fig. 285 Nomokanon (digest of canon law). 1814. Ms. No. 11, pp. 44-45 (p. 299).

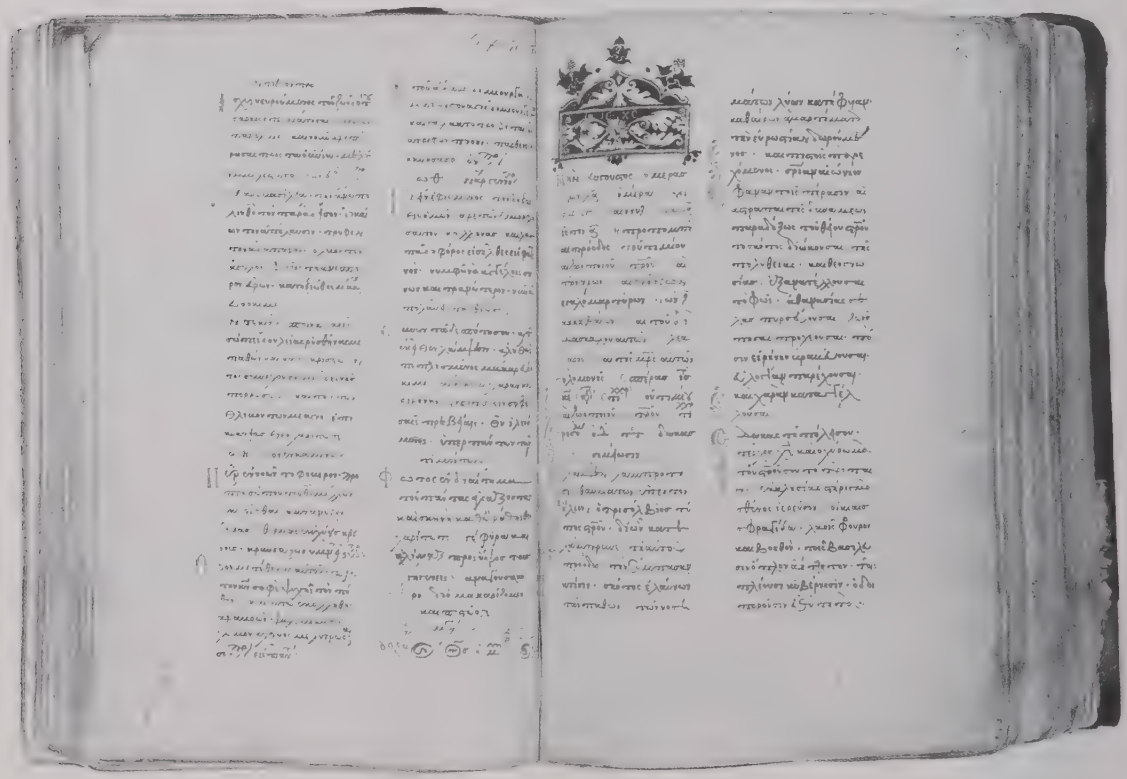


Fig. 286 Menology for July and August. 16th century. Ms. No. 1, f. 101^{v}-102 (p. 299).

the course of an academic visit to Mt Athos in 1980 organised by the Centre for Byzantine Research of the National Research Foundation. For a brief description of Mss. 1-40, see the *Μορφωτικό Ἵδρυμα Ἐθνικῆς Τραπέζης. Ἱστορικό καί Παλαιογραφικό Ἀρχεῖο. Μικροφωτογραφήσεις Χειρογράφων καί Ἀρχείων, vol. II (1978-80),* Athens 1981, pp. 47-49.

The Musical Manuscripts

1. In this brief preamble there are certain echoes of views which I have expressed elsewhere, and particularly in G. Stathis, *Μορφολογία καί Ἔκφραση τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς*, Athens 1980.

2. Oliver Strunk, *Specimina Notationum Antiquiorum, Pars Suppletoria*, Havniae 1966, pp. 11-16.

3. Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, Oxford 1961[2], p. 44.

4. For the evidence to support this distinction and a criticism of the periods in notation as defined by other musicologists, see G. Stathis, *Οἱ ἀναγραμματισμοί καί τά μαθήματα τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μελοποιΐας*, Athens 1979, pp. 47-59.

5. G. Stathis, *Τά Χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς - Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, vol. I, Athens 1975, General Introduction, pp. xxx-xdi, " Ὀνοματολογία τῶν μουσικῶν κωδίκων".

6. Fols. 61-66 of this codex were detached in Megiste Laura in 1840 by Paul Durand, librarian and museum director in the city of Chartres, France, and taken there by him; they were destroyed in an air raid on 26 May 1944. However, thanks to copies and photographs made by H.J.W. Tillyard, these six leaves —known as the Chartres Fragments— have lent their name to an archaic type of notation: Chartres Notation. This is, of course, the same as Athonite notation. See Oliver Strunk, "H.J.W. Tillyard and the Recovery of a Lost Fragment", *Studies in Eastern Chant* I, Oxford 1966, pp. 95-103.

7. Strunk, *Specimina...*, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

8. G. Stathis, "Ἡ Βυζαντινή Μουσική τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους" in *Παρηχήματα*, Athens 1978, pp. 114-115.

9. Stathis, 1976, pp. 545-576. This section has also been published as an offprint.

10. S. Lambros, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς Βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, vol. I, Cambridge 1890.

11. K.N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. I, Venice 1872, pp. 271ff: [Chrysanthos Notaras] *Βίβλων τινῶν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν καί διαφόρων τῶν ἐν τοῖς Μοναστηρίοις τοῦ Ἄθωνος Κατάλογος* (from codex ΜΠΤ 182, with the inscription "Ψελλοῦ *μετά συμμίκτων Χρυσάνθου*").

12. See Stathis, 1987b, pp. 132-133.

13. For the manuscript codices written by Apostolos of Chios, see G. Stathis, *Ἡ Ἐξήγησις τῆς Παλαιᾶς Βυζαντινῆς Σημειογραφίας*, Athens 1978, pp. 25-26.

14. Pressure of time prevented me from including this composition in the corpus of the 15-syllable Byzantine hymns: Stathis, G., *Ἡ Δεκαπεντασύλλαβος Ὑμνογραφία ἐν τῇ Βυζαντινῇ Μελοποιΐᾳ, Μελέται*, I, pp. 157-311.

Printed Books

1. In general, all the monasteries of Mt Athos had libraries as far back as the earliest years in which they functioned. According to Manouil I. Yedeon (1885, p. 338), *"Even in the first centuries, every monastery and every church and every bishopric had its library"*. And elsewhere, ("Αἱ παρ' ἡμῖν συλλογαί τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων", *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀλήθεια* 8 (1887-1888), p. 28) we read: *"They [the libraries of Mount Athos] were at their richest in the early years of this century [the 19th] and the closing years of the last century"*. A calculation based on evidence from current research would put the number of printed books at about 200,000.

2. One could mention, by way of indication, the bequests from the Patriarch of Alexandria, Matthaios Psaltis, to the Koutloumousiou Monastery, from Patriarch Dionysios IV Mouselimis of Constantinople to the Iveron Monastery, and from the learned clerics Maximos Margounios (to Iveron) and Nikiforos Theotokis (to Vatopedi). The Patriarchal Exarch of Alexandria bequeathed his library to Xeropotamou Monastery and the priest-teacher Leontios Kaisarefs left his to the Xenophontos Monastery.

3. Of the 'ex libris' inscriptions which we encountered when recording the books in the Simonopetra Monastery (Iannis Karas 1989), we could mention, by way of indication, the following: The *Ὁμιλίαι ὀλίγαι ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν εὑρεθεῖσαι* (Venice, A. Vortolis, 1734) of Chrysanthos Notaras came *"from the library of Iveron [and] was donated to the Holy Monastery of Simonopetra in 1896"*; the *Τριώδιον* of 1748 (Venice, N. Saros) was *"the property of... in the skete of Iveron"* before being donated to Simonopetra, and the *Νέα Κλῖμαξ* of 1774 (Venice, N. Glykys) was the gift *"of the monk Grigorios of the Holy Monastery of Philotheou"*. Other books were originally in the *kelli* of St Nicholas at Karyes.

4. These are the 245 codices described by Spyridon Lambros (1895, pp. 114-129). Amongst the manuscripts were two printed books: the *Ἄνθος τῶν χαρίτων* (Venice, F. Ioulianos 1594), bound with the manuscript bearing the code no. 242, and the *Συνταγμάτιον περιέχον τε εὐχάς ἱκετηρίους εἰς τόν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν καί εἰς τήν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον συλλεχθέν μέν ἐκ διαφόρων βιβλίων, τά πλεῖστα δέ ἀπό τοῦ ἁγίου Ἐφραίμ...* (Venice, I. A. Ioulianos, 1635), bound with code no. 155.

5. In the form of a manuscript note by Archimandrite Ieronymos of Simonopetra.

6. The Monastery was a regular subscriber to *Νεολόγος* (Constantinople), *Φάρος τῆς Μακεδονίας* (Thessaloniki), *Ἑλικωνιάδες Μοῦσαι* (Constantinople), *Θράκη*, (Constantinople), *Ἀλήθεια* and *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀλήθεια* (Constantinople) and to a number of other periodicals and newspapers.

7. Two catalogues of books dating from 1867 and 1879 make reference to: *"Greek speeches, 3 vols.; the Grammar of Vardalachos; the Grammar of Eirinaios Thirsios; a treatise upon the human physiology; elements of physics; an old geography book; Koumas' synopsis of the sciences;*

the Characters of Theophrastus; elementary teaching of practical faith and the handbook of the Orthodox priest and a treatise concerning Ecclesiastical History; concerning the LXX Translators; synopsis of Sacred History; synopsis of Greek Mythology; synopsis of World History; Brief History of the Byzantine Empire; Holy Catechism of Gennadios'', and other works.

8. In a letter from Thessaloniki to the abbot of the Monastery dated 11 July 1878, Dimitrios Savvas asks for the work *La Pucelle d'Orleans* of *''the famousFrenchman Voltaire''* from the Monastery library, and among the receipts for the purchase of books are Greek-French and French-Greek dictionaries, French grammars, textbooks for learning French and other similar works.

9. The *Inventories of Transactions* show a steady increase in spending on the library (purchase and binding of books), starting from 36 piastres in 1851, rising to 863 piastres in the year immediately following and reaching 2,000 piastres in 1858 and 1,580 piastres in 1859. Between that date and the fire of 1891, annual spending remained steady at an average of about 400 piastres (with the exception of 1865, when 1,130 piastres were spent).

10. On 28 September 1858 the Monastery spent 465 piastres *''for the purchase of books for our pupil''*, followed by a sum of 350 piastres on 20 December of the same year for the same purpose. Among these books were: *''1 archaeology by Irving, 1 geometry by Le Gendre, 1 anthropology, 1 rhetoric by Neophytos Vamvas, 1 large geography by Kokkonis, 1 geography by Y. Vakalopoulos, 1 geographical atlas, 1 history of Ancient Greece by T. Keighley''*.

11. Under the item *''purchases in Constantinople''*, the *Inventory of Transactions* for 1879 notes that 372 piastres was spent on books *''ordered by the Athonite School''*. The money for this was provided by Simonopetra Monastery.

12. On the Athonite School, see Iannis Karas, *Τά ἑλληνικά ἔντυπα τοῦ Πρωτάτου καί τῆς Ἀθωνιάδος, Ἁγιορειτικές Βιβλιοθῆκες* I, KNE/EIE, Athens 1985, pp. XXIII-XXXIV, which contains the relevant bibliography.

13. For a detailed description, see Karas Iannis, 1989.

Abbreviations

BCH: Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BZ: Byzantinische Zeitschrift
EEBS: Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
ΠΓ: Patrologia Graeca
TM: Travaux et Mémoires

Sources of quotations

For biblical quotations, the text of the Authorised (King James) Version has been preferred, with the exception of the Psalms, where the numbering and text of the Psalter in the Book of Common Prayer has been followed.

Fig. 47 *Psalm 71, 16.*
Fig. 48 *Psalm 52, 9.*
Fig. 49 *Psalm 84, 4.*
Fig. 50 *Psalm 113, 1.*
Fig. 51 *Mark 15, 43.*
Fig. 52 *Psalm 133, 1.*
Fig. 53 *Acts 1, 14.*
Fig. 54 *Psalm 18, 28.*
Fig. 55 *Rite of Holy Unction.*
Fig. 56 *The hymn 'O Gladsome Light ...', Order of Vespers.*
Fig. 57 *The Little Entrance (before the reading of the Gospel), Holy Liturgy of St John Chrysostom.*
Fig. 58 *The Cherubic Hymn, Holy Liturgy of St John Chrysostom.*
Fig. 59 *Holy Liturgy of St John Chrysostom.*
Fig. 60 *The Kiss of Peace, Holy Liturgy of St John Chrysostom.*
Fig. 61 *15th Antiphon, Good Friday morning service.*
Fig. 62 *Service of Holy Saturday morning, Dismissal Hymn.*
Fig. 63 *Troparion from the Hours, Compline and Prime of Easter Week.*
Fig. 64 *Psalm 141, 2.*
Fig. 65 *Resurrection Service of Easter Sunday.*
Fig. 66 *Catechetical Discourse of St John Chrysostom, read at the Easter Sunday Holy Liturgy.*
Fig. 67 *Holy Liturgy of Easter Sunday (troparion of the 5th ode of the canon).*
Fig. 68 *Psalm 150, 5; part of the Holy Liturgy for Easter Sunday.*
Fig. 69 *Resurrection Service of Easter Sunday (Megalynarion of the 9th ode of the canon).*

Glossary

Akoloutharion: Musical codex containing all that is to be sung at the services on the principal feasts.

Akra Tapeinosis: 'The Ultimate Humility': a composition in Byzantine iconography showing the dead Christ from the waist up, in the tomb, against the background of the instruments of His Passion.

Anastasimatarion: Basic book of music containing the *anastasima idiomela* (see the meaning of the world in the name *Stichirarion*) and other troparia for the Sunday service according to the eight modes.

Arsanas: A building complex belonging to an individual monastery on the shore of the Athos peninsula, serving as boathouse and 'shipyard' and often fortified against the incursions of pirates.

Asmatikon: Byzantine musical codex (12th century) containing the repertorio for the choir.

Asteriskos: Star-shaped metal cover for the Bread used in the Holy Eucharist.

Bema: Sanctuary of an Orthodox church.

Cibotium or kivotion: Vessel of metal or ivory, usually containing relics.

Deesis: In Byzantine iconography, a composition showing Christ enthroned in the centre, flanked by His Mother and St John the Baptist standing in an attitude of prayer.

Docheion: Storage place in a monastery.

Doxastarion: Book of music which is drawn from the *Stichirarion* containing the *doxastika idiomela*, that is the idiomela sung after the doxology (*"Glory be to the Father..."*).

Eirmologion: Book of music, as old as the *Stichirarion* (10th-11th centuries), containing the *eirmoi*, i.e., the models for a group of troparia of the nine odes of the canons according to the eight modes. The 'canon' is one of the finest poetical forms of Byzantine hymnography.

Enkolpion: Pectoral medallion.

Epitaphios: Embroidered cover for the catafalque standing in the church and carried in procession on Good Friday.

Epitaphios Threnos: 'Mourning at the Tomb': a composition in Byzantine iconography showing the Blessed Virgin, women and disciples mourning over the body of Christ immediately before His burial.

Gerontikon: Collection of sayings of the Fathers, i.e., the great Ascetics and Desert Fathers.

Kalyva: Building, a group of which constitutes a *skete* (q.v.).

Kathisma: Accommodation for monks seeking greater solitude separate from the monastery buildings.

Katzi: Thurible for the burning of incense held in the hand by a handle, rather than suspended on chains.

Kelli: 'Cell': Dependency of a monastery on the Holy Mountain ceded for their accommodation to not more than six monks.

Konaki: Accommodation, often a house, belonging to a monastery at which its representatives stay when on business in another place.

Kratimatarion: Musical codex containing *kratimata*, that is, instead of texts, syllables meaningless in themselves (such as *terirem, tenena, tooto, tititi, etc.),* used to prolong or intensify a melody.

Maphorion: Woman's garment in the form of a long sleeveless tunic with hood.

Mathimatarion: Musical codex containing *stichira idiomela* for feast days, selectively set in a lyrical and melismatic manner by the addition of *kratimata*.

Menologion: Menology — i.e., a liturgical book containing the lives of the saints, arranged by months throughout the ecclesiastical year.

Myrovlitis: Title given to certain saints whose bodies after death exude a sweet-smelling substance for which the word used is the same as that for the 'chrism' (oil, balsam and various perfumes) used for anointing in certain rites.

Osiakon: Book containing the music, in this instance, for the form of service dedicated to St Simon.

Panagiarion: A circular convex case, opening to form a diptych, with the Blessed Virgin portrayed on the inside on one leaf and another devotional subject on the other. It has a liturgical use in monasteries.

Parakletike: The basic book for the weekly cycle of Orthodox worship, centring upon the hymnography dealing with the Resurrection for Sunday. It is divided into eight periods, according to the eight modes and hence is also called the Great *Oktoechos*.

Pentekostarion: Book of music containing the *stichira idiomela* and other troparia for the period from Easter to the Sunday after Pentecost.

Prologarion: Book of music which is part of the Eirmologion, containing the 'prologues', that is, the model troparia for a group of *stichira* troparia called *prosomia*. They have a chant similar to the prologue.

Proskynitarion: Carved wooden stand for the icon which is changed according to the saint, feast or observance of the day.

Psaltikon: Byzantine musical codex (12th century) containing the repertorio of the soloists.

Semantron: Length of wood struck rhythmically with a stick and serving the same purposes as church bells.

Skete: On the Holy Mountain a dependency of a monastery in which a minimum of three monks live the monastic life.

Stichirarion: The oldest book of Byzantine music (10th-11th centuries), containing the troparia called *idiomela* (=having the same chant), sung after a verse from the Psalter. The contents provide for all the feasts of the ecclesiastical year from 1 September to 31 August and the period of the Triodion and Pentekostarion.

Typikarion: Place in an Athonite monastery where service books are kept.

Triodion: Book of music containing the *stichira idiomela* and other troparia for the period of ten weeks before Easter, which begins on the Sunday when the Gospel for the day is the Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican.

Vordonario: A monastery building which serves as a combination of byre and barn.

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NOTE
Entries on individual chapels churches, Feast days, gulfs, icons, iconographic themes, *kathismata, kellia, metochia,* monasteries and nunneries, museums, *sketes,* springs, wells will be found grouped under those headings.

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All the photographs in the volume were taken by Mr Andreas Smaragdis and his assistants. Supplementary photographs have been provided by the National Mortgage Bank of Greece (fig. 165), Ms Daphne Koutsikou from the archive of Dory Papastratos (fig. 2) and the architect Ploutarchos Theocharidis (figs 211, 222). Photograph no. 213 is from the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, and no. 1 from the Tate Gallery, London.

S. P.
Athens, November 1991

Translators' Note

It is, perhaps, desirable to include a word about the transliteration of Greek proper names in this volume, since the reader may be puzzled by the co-existence of, say, 'St Demetrius' with the form 'Dimitrios'. It is notorious that any system in this matter is difficult to formulate and follow consistently without the results at times appearing perverse. On general lines, apart from spellings which can be regarded as established in their own right, such as 'Mytilene' and not 'Mitilini', we have chosen, arbitrarily perhaps, to give names belonging to periods prior to the Fall of Constantinople in their 'classical' or Latinate form (e.g., 'Nicephorus Phocas') and to treat those of a later period as Modern Greek and transliterate them accordingly. It is very probable that, even so, we have not achieved results which will strike all readers as satisfactory or elegant, and for that we beg their indulgence.

G.C.
J.S.

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